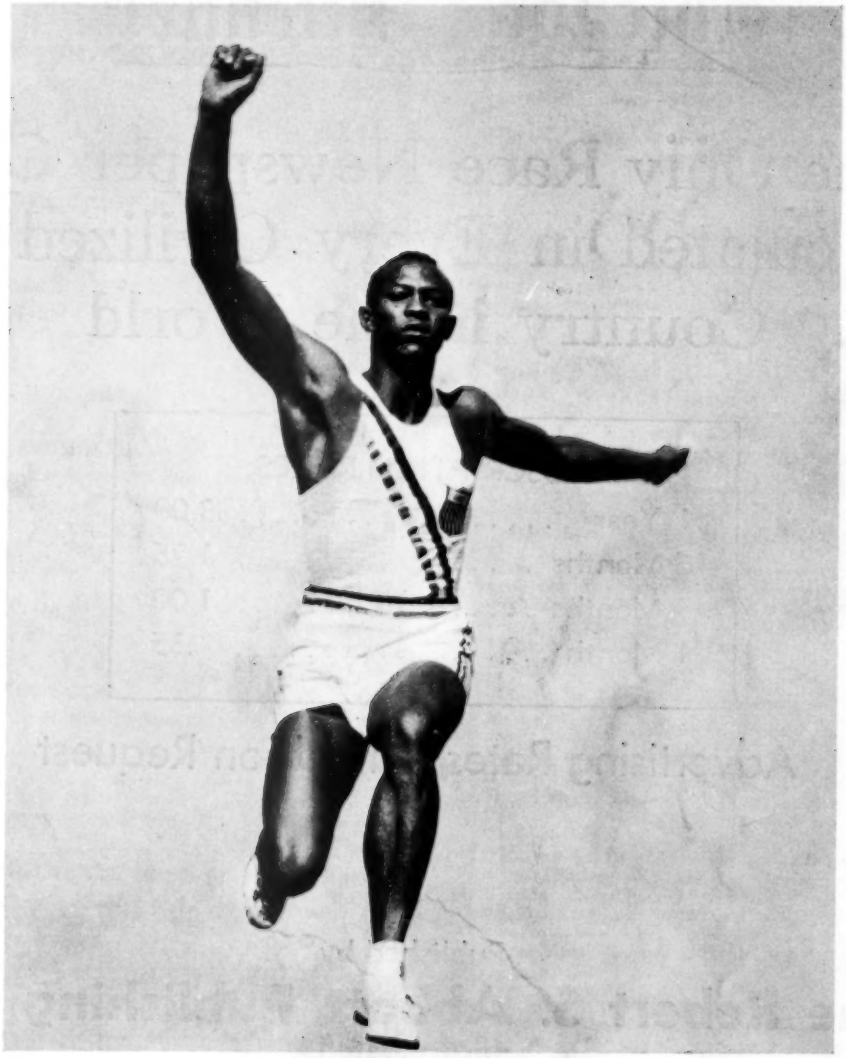
SOCIAL SCIENCES

SEPTEMBER, 1936

THE CRISIS

FIFTEEN CENTS

PUBLIC LIBRARY
AUG 28 1936
DETROIT



Pictures, Inc.

OLYMPIC ACE JESSE OWENS

(Too fast for Hitler—See pages 267, 272, 273)

JIM CROW IN STEEL

JOHN P. DAVIS

Subscribe NOW . . . for

THE Chicago Defender

WORLD'S GREATEST WEEKLY

The Only Race Newspaper Circulated in Every Civilized Country in the World

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

1 Year	$3.00
6 Months	1.75
3 Months	1.00
1 Month	.35

Advertising Rates Sent Upon Request

Published by

The Robert S. Abbott Publishing Co.

Incorporated

3435 Indiana Avenue :: Chicago, Illinois

THE CRISIS

Founded 1910

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

A Record of the Darker Races

ROY WILKINS, Editor

ADVISORY BOARD

J. E. Spingarn *Dr. Louis T. Wright* *James Weldon Johnson* *Lewis Gannett* *Walter White*

Volume 43, *No.* 9 *Whole No.* 309

CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER, 1936

COVER Page

Jesse Owens, Olympic Games star

PLAN ELEVEN—JIM CROW IN STEEL

By John P. Davis 262

SLAVE STRUGGLES FOR FREEDOM

By Stanley Rappeport 264

JED

A story by Donald G. Kobler 266

SAGA OF JESSE OWENS,

An editorial from the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* 267

FULL EQUALITY OF RACES AND NATIONS

By Chatwood Hall 268

THE FAILURE AT GENEVA

By David H. Bradford 270

TWILIGHT OF THE GODS

A cartoon from the Baltimore *Sun* 272

EDITORIALS 273

FROM THE PRESS OF THE NATION 275

BALTIMORE CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS 277

ALONG THE N.A.A.C.P. BATTLEFRONT 278

ECHOES FROM THE YOUTH CONFERENCE 281

THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910. *It is published monthly at* 69 *Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15c *a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879, *and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

The contents of THE CRISIS *are copyrighted.*

NEXT MONTH

The October issue of THE CRISIS will contain statements from all political parties on problems affecting Negro citizens. The Democrats with President Roosevelt; the Republicans with Governor Alf. M. Landon; the Socialists with Norman Thomas; the Communists with Earl Browder and James W. Ford; and the Union Party with William Lemke, all have promised to state their positions clearly for readers of THE CRISIS.

•

In an early issue also will be a short article on Youth and Religion by Harold E. Boysaw; a description of a Negro history project in the schools of Louisiana by George Longe; and an article on the Freedom of the Press in Mississippi by George S. Schuyler.

•

The November issue will have a section devoted to children. News and pictures for this issue must be in THE CRISIS office by October 1. Most of the November issue will be a youth number with articles on problems faced by colored and white young people.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

John P. Davis is executive secretary of the National Negro Congress and is well known for his work as secretary of the Joint Committee on National Recovery which worked for fair dealing toward the Negro worker on the various recovery efforts.

•

Stanley Rappeport is a graduate student in Johns Hopkins university.

•

Donald G. Kobler has been teaching at Commonwealth college, Mena, Ark.

•

Chatwood Hall was trained for journalism in the University of Minnesota where he served on the staff of the university daily paper. He has lived in Russia for several years and has contributed to THE CRISIS, the Moscow *Daily News* and other Russian newspapers and to all of the leading American and African Negro papers.

•

David H. Bradford is a member of the faculty of Kentucky State Teachers college at Frankfort, Ky.

•

Edward A. Lawrence is an officer of the Brooklyn, N. Y., N.A.A.C.P. youth council; L. Pearl Mitchell is a member of the board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P., ex-president of the Cleveland, O., branch and adviser of the Cleveland, O., youth council; J. Catherine Wyatt is a member of the Baltimore, Md., youth council.

"Plan Eleven"—Jim-Crow in Steel

By John P. Davis

The great battle in the American Federation of Labor between the industrial unionists and the trade unionists is in full swing and the immediate battleground is the steel industry. Mr. Davis outlines the position of the 85,000 Negro workers in steel

THE incorporated borough of Aliquippa in Beaver County, Pennsylvania, had in 1930 a total of 4,694 persons employed in blast furnaces and steel rolling mills and other iron and steel factories. And of these 687 or 14.6 per cent were Negro. For one wishing to know something about labor and the steel industry this community furnishes an excellent case study. For Aliquippa is typical.

In Aliquippa are located steel plants of the fourth largest steel company in the country: Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation. "J & L" built the town; "J & L" owns and controls the town, lock, stock and barrel. Although Pennsylvania boasts a civil rights law, Aliquippa is a Jim-crow community. In building it, "J & L" laid it out in different sectors, each called a "plan." Negroes live in "Plan Eleven" and nowhere else. There is a "plan" for Italian workers, one for native white workers, one for mill superintendents and bosses. And all of these "plans" are part of the major design of the company to keep the workers well divided and split up.

Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation has not limited its discrimination against its Negro workers simply to residential ghettoes. It has established job ghettoes as well. No amount of money can secure a Negro the privilege of living outside of "Plan Eleven"; and no amount of skill or experience can win him the right to work in the steel plant except at the hardest, hottest and most unhealthy job.

The steel company dominates every aspect of community life. The newspaper in the town screams aloud against attempts to organize the workers into a union. Bought city officials enact and viciously enforce all manner of unconstitutional ordinances to prevent holding of meetings, distribution of literature and picketing. Thugs employed by the company dog the steps of union organizers day and night. A "Committee of 500", inspired by the company and made up of mill bosses and all those dependent upon company favor, carries on constant campaigns inciting residents of the town to violence against union organizers and brazenly intimidating workers with fear of loss of their jobs if they support the union. Company spies and stool pigeons infest the living quarters of the workers.

One detailed example of company tactics must be given before we leave Aliquippa. In the period when an NRA steel code existed, Italian workers were most active among those building a steel workers union. Shortly after their activity began to tell in terms of larger union membership, it became evident that street fights and quarrels between Italian and Negro workers were increasing alarmingly. What was even more strange was the fact that when the combatants in these quarrels were hailed before company-owned courts, the Negro worker was always allowed to go scot-free while the Italian worker was severely punished. It was not difficult to establish the fact that the company was the deliberate *provocateur* in stirring up ill feeling between Italian and Negro workers, in certain cases even paying Negro stool pigeons to pick fights with Italian workers. By provoking such feuds, it hoped to prevent workers from getting together and attacking their common enemy—the company.

Aliquippa is a symbol of the domination of the steel industry everywhere. In practically every major steel producing community, native whites, foreign born whites and Negroes are separated from each other and, in a variety of ways, played one against the other. In practically every community a mixture of these dissident groups is kept employed in the industry for the express purpose of preventing solidarity of all steel workers. And in practically every community Negro steel workers are at the bottom of the industrial heap, in low paid jobs with no hope of advancement.

20 Per Cent of Workers Negro

Available statistical material on Negro steel workers is unsatisfactory. Census classifications are either too narrow or too broad. The material is out of date. In 1930 Negroes were 13.1 per cent of all workers (operatives and laborers) employed in "blast furnaces and steel rolling mills." This classification included tinplate mills where Negroes are sparsely employed, but excluded iron foundries where large numbers of Negroes work as common laborers. Considering the increase of employment since 1930 and the large number of Negro employees to be found in coke furnaces, iron foundries, by-product plants and other integral parts of the steel industry, it may be estimated roughly that Negroes are 20 per cent of all laborers in the industry and six percent of all operatives. There are today between 80 and 85 thousand Negro steel workers.

The importance of Negro workers in steel, however, is not to be understood on the basis of their number and percentage in the industry alone. Some 433 plants in 250 communities in 29 states manufacture steel products. But the predominant volume of steel commodities is produced in three or four relatively small geographic areas by less than a dozen big steel corporations. And it is precisely in these areas and in the employ of these dozen or fewer big companies that the larger proportionate percentages of Negro workers are to be found.

In the Allegheny and Mahoning Valleys of Pennsylvania and Ohio, in the Calumet district of Illinois and Indiana (Chicago, South Chicago, Indiana Harbor and Gary), in the cities of Cleveland and St. Louis, at Sparrows Point, Maryland, and in the counties of Etowah and Jefferson in Alabama, the bulk of Negro steel workers are to be found. They are employed principally by such mammoth corporations as United States Steel, Bethlehem Steel, Jones and Laughlin, Republic Steel, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, Carnegie-Illinois, Crucible Steel, Corrigna and McKinney, Inland Steel, Tennessee Coal and Iron, Gulf States Steel and the subsidiaries of these companies. Upon the organization of workers in these areas and in these companies depends the fate of any effort to organize the steel industry. And as the battle line is drawn in the struggle between progressive forces of labor and reactionary forces of the employers, there are few who do not realize that the allegiance of Negro workers will be a decisive factor in the battle.

Few Skilled Workers

It becomes important, therefore, to consider the position of the Negro worker in this industrial battle of the century. The universal complaint of the Negro steel worker against the company is that he is never given an

opportunity to rise above low paid categories of common labor. Whereas approximately one in every four white workers is a skilled operative (with the ratio of skilled workers constantly increasing), not more than one in every ten Negro workers is allowed to hold a skilled job. And even here they are given jobs at lower skills and at differential wages. In Alabama Negroes form a larger proportion of the total population than in the North and are even more numerous in the industry than their proportion in the state population. But although they are between 65 and 70 per cent of the total steel labor force in the state, they are only a little more than 30 per cent of the skilled workers.

Occupational differentials place Negroes in low wage brackets. In the South, Negroes doing the same work as whites receive less pay. And because of the predominant number of Negroes in the industry in this section, average wage rates there are lower than elsewhere in the country. Moreover the amount of work given Negroes by week, month and year, is on the average less than for whites. And for none of the workers are the annual real incomes which they receive sufficient to afford more than a bare subsistence.

Negro workers paid on a piece work rate or tonnage basis, frequently experience discrimination by being given "dead work"—work which requires long hours of labor to bring the product up to acceptable standards, but for which they receive only the same wage rate as workers engaged on materials which can be processed in much less time.

Jobs held by Negroes in the industry are fraught with danger of occupational disease and other industrial hazards. The intense heat to which the men are exposed accounts for a pneumonia rate three times normal. In coke ovens connected with the industry Negroes are compelled to work at terrific speeds in the face of ovens belching forth sulphur fumes, carbon monoxide and other injurious gases. In by-product departments men will work all day sweating in rooms filled with dense fumes of ammonia. In the "pickling rooms", where sheets of white hot steel are immersed in baths of acid to remove scales and impurities, Negroes face the constant hazards of steam, heat and gas. In every department in which they are found, strains from lifting heavy weights, heat cramps, injuries to eyes, fingers and limbs are constant dangers. They become old and useless men before they have reached middle age.

The American Iron and Steel Institute, official spokesman for the steel trust, boasts of a steel industry wage rate ten percent higher than the average paid in 26 other representative American industries. But when this wage rate is calculated in terms of annual real income and when the span of work years for steel workers under present conditions is considered, it becomes clear that the steel trust is gilding the lily. A half million steel workers and their families are barely existing. Negro workers, for whom wage payments are far below average, live on the rim of starvation.

Industry Prosperous

Steel is not a sick industry. Production of iron increased 35.3 per cent from 1933 to 1934. During the same period production of steel increased ten percent. For both commodities production has steadily increased since that time. The composite price of steel has moved steadily upwards. The introduction of continuous strip mills and other technological improvements has cut down the cost of production. Fewer employees are needed. New uses for steel have been found, thus enlarging its market. Railroad replacements, long overdue, add to the total volume. *Steel Facts* reports that housewives in the United States own and use an average of 600 pounds of steel in their homes. And especially in these last three years have the markets for steel expanded because of the international armaments race.

This expanded production has reflected itself in increased dividends to stockholders and increased salaries and bonuses to steel company officials. For the six months period ending June 30, 1936, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, Bethlehem Steel Corporation showed a net profit of more than four million dollars, slightly less than four times as much as for the corresponding period for 1935. Salaries of several hundred thousand dollars annually and bonuses running into millions are paid to Bethlehem's officials. But Bethlehem's Negro workers at Sparrows Point, Maryland, still sweat and slave at $16 to $18 a week, with flour, lard and meat jumping ten and 20 per cent in price. And, of course, this contrasted picture is the same for all the big steel companies and all of their workers.

POLITICAL DOPE

Statements from each of the political parties on issues affecting Negro Americans will be contained in the October issue of THE CRISIS. The New Deal, the Republicans, the Socialists, the Communists and the new Union Party will all have their say. Order your copy now from your newsboy or newsdealer. Out September 26.

The steel industry is a monopoly. The American Iron and Steel Institute is the organizational mechanism through which this monopoly finds its expression, in defiance of anti-trust legislation. Prices for steel products are controlled by unwritten (or at least, so far uncovered) laws which bind every member of the industry. Other rules established for the industry are adhered to with unswerving uniformity. When the steel industry moves, it moves with force, with precision and with speed. From this fact stem two conclusions: first, that every depredation of the rights of workers is a known and approved consequence of the policies of the men who control the steel industry; and, second, that only the independent and total organization of all steel workers into one industrial union can possibly furnish sufficient power to protect steel workers from ruthless exploitation.

To protect itself from genuine organization, the industry has promoted the mushroom growth of company unions. The men elect their fellow workers to represent them at elections held under the supervision of the company. Such elections nearly always prove a farce with the "fair haired boys" of the company emerging victors. The representatives are paid by the companies. The workers dare not submit serious grievances to them for fear of losing their jobs. Even where the "employee representatives" are honest, there is no chance for success in a dispute with the company. For the company can easily discipline the men in a single plant and whip them into submission. The workers well understand that the company union is no union at all.

The 1919 Strike

In the past attempts to organize steel have failed because of the amassed power of the steel trust and the inept policies of the leadership of the American Federation of Labor and the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. But the organization of steel workers is not impossible. In 1918 and 1919 the zeal, idealism and energies of one man, William Z. Foster, now chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, almost accomplished the job. Foster was handicapped by lack of funds, lack of sufficient numbers of organizers, lack of cooperation of officials of the A. F. of L. and steel union. Because of this he was compelled to restrict his activities to the Chicago area for the first two months of the campaign, instead of being able to carry on the organizational drive on all steel fronts simultaneously. Thus the industry was able to attack the drive

(*Continued on page 276*)

Slave Struggles for Freedom

By Stanley Rappeport

This study, a thesis by a student at Johns Hopkins university in Baltimore, Md., is yet more testimony against the popular, but erroneous, idea that Negroes accepted slavery meekly and did nothing to gain their freedom

THERE are in the United States several national groups which are persecuted, and a part of the persecution consists of attributing to these minority groups undesirable characteristics. The Jews are said to be extortionate bankers and Communists (inconsistency never bothers the bigoted), the Gypsies are all thieves, the Chinese are cunning creatures plotting tortures in incense-reeking dens, and the Negroes are "inferior" and servile-minded, created to take, but not to give, orders. These popular misconceptions arise in a society the leaders of which mouth loyalty to abstract truth while disseminating or preserving all untruths which it is to their advantage to keep alive. They build universities which are devoted to the search for truth where lecturers teach that there is no scientific basis for theories of racial inferiority, that in the United States equal opportunity exists for all, while at the same time in the administrative offices applications of students for admission are rejected because of the color or nationality of the applicant. While some of the colleges and universities are teaching that Negro and white are possessed of equal native ability, there are few which have corrected their distorted narrative of the Negro in American history. He was a meek, servile creature born to be a slave, completely lacking in those noble aspirations which inspire men to fight and to die for freedom and liberty. His freedom had to be handed to him on a silver platter. So say the textbooks with which many of our young people are being miseducated.

Some trade union leaders speak in the same vein when they say that Negroes are "natural born scabs" who have no "fight" or "guts," no loyalty to an organization. This view is being cast aside as experience indicates what loyal fighting union members Negroes can be when they are given a chance. The best examples in recent years are the struggles of the backward, uneducated sharecroppers and tenant farmers of Arkansas and Alabama, some of whom have given their lives that their union might grow and gain improved conditions for all.

While activity in working class and other organizations has proved that the Negro has all that "it takes," the history books go merrily on perpetuating the legend that the slaves accepted their slavery like the ox his yoke, until the noble, white northerners came south and said "You may go free." The true story is quite different. From the first attempt in Africa to enslave the black man until he had achieved his legal freedom he fought, and fought, and fought with every means at his disposal, at every opportunity, with all his strength and cunning, to wrench the onerus yoke from his neck.

Captured Slave Ships

The history of the slave trade abounds in instances of successful struggles against the slave traders on the coast of Africa and of revolts—sometimes successful, more frequently abortive—aboard slave ships. In 1699 the Portuguese lost four ships through slave uprisings. In 1700 the slaves killed a member of the crew of a slave ship and injured others, and were only subdued after 28 of them had been killed or drowned.

In 1729 slaves on the galley "Clare" sailing for South Carolina seized the vessel, landed the crew in boats, ran the "Clare" ashore farther down the coast and made their escape. Two years later another successful escape was effected by slaves on the African coast. They murdered the captain and all but three of the crew. Captain John Major of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was similarly murdered with all his crew and his ship and cargo were seized by the slaves on board in 1732. Four American ships were attacked and destroyed in 1759 by African natives as the sailors were attempting to round up a cargo of slaves.

These are just a few of the numerous instances of newly captured slaves fighting valiantly for their freedom. These struggles became so frequent that slave traders were obliged to insure their ships against slave insurrections. The records of the slave trade contain several references to the cost of insuring a vessel against an uprising by the captives.

The question may be raised as to whether all these revolts were motivated by a deep-seated love of freedom or by some other purpose. According to Captain Barbot, master of a large slave ship, "some of the captives mutiny because of a fear that they will be eaten while others become desperate . . . on account of their captivity." When a captain of a slave ship makes a statement like the one above it is safe to say that the majority of the mutineers took such action because they wished to be free to roam the African forests again. Naturally fear as to their uncertain future was also a factor.

The slaves not only mutinied when they were close to the coast but sometimes when the ship was some distance out. Knowing little about navigation, some perhaps having never seen the ocean before, they had to gamble on getting back by good luck or by forcing some member of the crew to act as navigator. In 1730 a cargo of slaves mutinied when the ship was at sea. They took the officers prisoners, piloted the boat back to Africa and made their escape leaving the crew uninjured.

Some of the cases indicate that the captives were willing to go to any length to rid themselves of their short but galling bondage. In 1776 they rose against the crew of a slaver, but being chained they were unable to make prisoners of the sailors. Knowing that chained as they were they would be drowned, 28 men and 2 women, nevertheless, jumped overboard preferring a watery death to a servile life. The captain of the ship in describing the incident remarks that those who drowned were the best individuals in the cargo. In the same year that the American Colonies were declaring their determination to achieve their independence these thirty slaves gave their lives in a magnificent declaration for the independence of all oppressed and enslaved peoples. Innocent though they were of any such noble purpose we cannot consider their heroic action in any other light as it is such brave deeds which keep the desire for freedom glowing in the human breast.

But the most dramatic and heroic case occurred in 1735, when the slaves on board the ship "Dolphin" of London rose against the crew off the coast of Africa. The crew was able to prevent the captives from seizing control of the ship but the latter got into the powder room. There they held counsel and decided that with the loss of their freedom life had lost its charm, and so they blew up the whole ship.

Set Free by Court

The two most famous insurrections at

sea occurred when the slave trade had long been legally prohibited in the United States. In 1839 the Spanish vessel "Amistad" sailed from Havana for Principe with 54 Negroes who were badly treated and told that they would be eaten when the ship arrived at its destination. They killed the captain and cook, allowed the crew to escape, and under the command of a clever slave named Cinque they set sail for Africa. A United States Navy vessel picked them up and took them to Connecticut to stand trial. The court set them free and the American Missionary Association sent them back to Africa.

The second case occurred in 1841 on the ship "Creole" which sailed from Richmond for New Orleans with 135 slaves. The slaves mutinied, took control of the ship and sailed to Nassau, New Providence in the British West Indies, where they were all set free by the British authorities. The leader of the slaves was Madison Washington. The Honorable William Jay paid him high tribute. "The sagacity, bravery and humanity of this man do honor to his name, and, but for his complexion, would excite universal admiration."

Of such character were the black men who first came to the shores of the United States. Although the ranks of the clever and daring were decimated, (It is estimated that for every slave brought to America at least three died in struggling for their freedom or on the deadly Midland Passage) many brave men survived to carry on the glorious fight for liberty in this country. In the United States the slaves faced an entirely new situation. There were three ways in which they might endeavor to gain their freedom. They might purchase liberty, run away, or revolt. Some slaves undertook the arduous task of hiring themselves out in their spare time and using the money which they earned to buy themselves from their owner. If they did not die of overwork, they might, after years of labor, be free. Some of these ambitious individuals then would set to work to buy the freedom of a wife, a child, or a parent. There were many difficulties in the way of a slave who wished to buy his freedom. His owner might frown on the plan and there it ended. Some of the states compelled freed Negroes to leave the state, so that the result of years of work and economy might be forced separation from one's family.

Although this method of achieving freedom was not an important one it indicates how a slave, who was never allowed any economic responsibility, never taught to plan for the morrow, could plan and sacrifice, on his own initiative, for a reward which was years off. When an owner allowed a slave to buy his liberty he was admitting, according to Booker T. Washington that slavery as an economic institution was a failure, but the real attack upon slavery as an economic institution was made not by thrifty, ambitious Negroes, but by the courageous runaways.

Fugitive Slaves

From the earliest arrival of slaves in the United States they resorted to flight. At first they had no idea of the geography of the country and often fled to the Indians throwing themselves on the mercy of the forest dwellers. Usually they were well received and became members of the tribe. Some of the outstanding Indian chiefs are known to have had Negro blood. When the slave had acquired a vague knowledge of the country he would head north across the Mason and Dixon Line. The lot of a runaway was not an easy one. Many in the early days ran into the forests and mountains and remained to die of starvation or cold rather than return and submit to bondage.

To combat this attack on their property the slave owners developed a very efficient system for recapturing fugitives. The masters understood clearly that the runaway slave was striking at the whole institution of slavery with his keenest weapon, for a successful flight was a frontal attack on the sanctity of private property under slavery. As soon as a slave was missed descriptive advertisements were published far and wide. Sizable rewards were offered for his capture, sometimes dead or alive. Search and pursuit with bloodhounds was started frequently, and if the slave, when caught, offered much resistance he was not infrequently killed with little hesitation. Not the individual slave but the institution was the object at stake. Knowing that many brother slaves were not trustworthy, that the roads were patrolled, that pursuit would be hot, knowing this many slaves were foolhardy enough or daring enough to sacrifice all for liberty.

This constant hammering away at the foundations of property in human beings by the action of runaways exerted a tremendous pressure toward making slavery uneconomic. The runaway by his action was carrying on a one man revolt against the whole system. With that in mind William Pickens said that "the first abolitionist was the runaway slave."

There were many slaves who might have been confident of gaining their own freedom through flight, yet subordinated the solution of their individual problem to that of their race. They plotted and organized with the hope that a whole people might walk upright and free. There would have been many more insurrections in the United States were it not for the geographical and political character of the country which made it possible for clever slaves to emancipate themselves by flight. In a country like Brazil where there was no place to run and few if any sympathetic whites the only possible method of fighting servitude was by insurrection. In the United States there were many who chose this group effort. As early as 1711 there are records of a slave uprising. A certain Sebastian, a Spanish Negro, robbed and terrorized a part of Carolina with a band of other runaway Negroes. One Southern writer describes Sebastian as "a notorious villain and outlaw; and the reason for his having this price set upon his head was for the wanton and cold blooded atrocities he had committed in the burning and destruction of all the substance of several persons. . . ." An interesting example of the solicitude with which the white slave-owning class cared for their property. The writer couldn't have been more incensed if Sebastian had destroyed lives instead of property. The price which is referred to is the reward of 50 pounds offered by the Assembly for the capture of the Negro leader. Ultimately he was caught and executed.

Many Revolts Staged

In New York City in 1712 a clever and desperate revolt was plotted. The scheme called for setting fire to an outhouse in the center of the City in the evening. The Negroes were to come into the town, hide in the vicinity of the outhouse and attack the whites when they came running up to extinguish the blaze. All went according to the plan until some of the whites escaped and formed an armed band. The Negroes fled to the woods where the militia captured all but six who committed suicide. More than nine whites were killed and five or six wounded. In addition to the six slave suicides, twenty-one were executed by hanging, burning, breaking on the wheel and one by hanging alive in chains. Some were acquitted.

In South Carolina in 1722 slaves, in attempting to gain their freedom, murdered a white woman and a Negro boy. Twenty-three of them were later caught; six were convicted, of whom three were executed and three escaped. In the same year in Virginia 200 armed slaves came together secretly near the mouth of the Rappahanock River. Their plan called for surrounding the church where the whites were gathered and taking them prisoners. The plan might very well have succeeded had not the group been discovered prematurely which surprise threw them into a panic. Two years later in Boston, Massachusetts, dwellings were set on fire night

(*Continued on page 274*)

Jed

By Donald G. Kobler

Another sidelight on the amazing struggle of black and white sharecroppers and tenant farmers to better their condition by means of a union without a color line

WE were walking around the Five-Mile. It was moonless, starless, windless. The figure scuffing along beside me, his skin pigmented differently from mine, was smeared into the blackness of the night. All consciousness of color was lost; a personality in its own right was speaking freely to a free mind. All shambles of prejudice and restraint were left behind in a daylight world of ignorance and cruelty, hours old, years old.

Jed had been telling of his father, who had been a prominent Negro lawyer in Boston. Jed couldn't remember him very well, but he had been a fine man, intelligent, educated. It was easy to perceive from his admiration for his father that Jed's compassion for all things injured and his ability to defend them were part of a heritage that would not be lost.

"Your mother is still living, isn't she?"

"Yes." He stooped down for a handful of sand. I could hear it fall softly on the road as it trickled through his fingers.

"My mother's a splendid woman," he continued. He spoke with a New England accent, the austerity of which was softened by the rythmic diction common to his people. "I had a very ugly experience when I went home to see my mother last Christmas. She was waiting for me at the station when the train pulled in. I ran across the platform and kissed her."

He let the rest of the sand fall to the ground. It was very still.

"I shouldn't have done that," he said, and I knew he was speaking of his mother. As the wind and the stars and the moon withheld themselves, I felt that Jed, too, was striving to restrain some awful truth.

"Why?" I asked.

"Because a man grabbed me and threw me down—for kissing my mother. He threatened to kill me."

"But I don't understand," I persisted.

"They killed my father for the same reason," he went on, as though he hadn't heard me. "And some day I may be knocked off, too. Maybe not for kissing my mother. It may be for some other crime—for demanding respect and the right to live."

I didn't dare ask him again about his mother. I felt him stir beside me, as though he became aware of my bewilderment. A movement, sensed but not seen, broke the pattern of our easy, shambling gait. Staring ahead at the spectral silhouettes of the trees along the road, I heard Jed say, "You see, my mother's white,—like you."

The agony that welled in his voice seemed to rend the night like lightning, reminding us of the dawn to come and of the daylight world which could not be ignored.

Then above the anguish, he added firmly and calmly, "But nothing will stop me. Nothing."

* * * * *

I SLIPPED into the rear of the convention hall, with only a green ribbon pinned on the lapel of my coat to show that I belonged there. Never before had I known what it felt like to belong to a racial minority. It was two years since I had associated with an individual Negro, Jed Cross. Now I found myself surrounded by a hundred Jeds, a hundred men and women from the cotton fields of the South, representing thousands of other slaves like themselves. I felt small, unimportant, different. I could not help but think of Jed and of how he must have felt in the North, surrounded by white people.

The women were having difficulty in making the men understand the status they desired for themselves in the union organization. Men and women were bobbing up and down, throwing good-natured banter and serious intent at one another. The crowd punctuated their speeches with loud, sweet guffaws or nodded assents of "Tha's right, tha's right."

"What's the difference whether we pays or the women pays?" drawled a lanky, handsome fellow. Then looking down at his wife beside him, he grinned and said, "They only steals it out of our pants pockets anyhow."

While the laughter rumbled through the old hall, the young wife rose and began to shout above the noise.

"Y'aint got much money for us to take," she snapped. The men quieted down. They knew too well. "We can raise a mite ourselves maybe and we wants recognition for it." She faced the crowd squarely and began swinging her arms as though she were standing over the home plate of a baseball diamond.

"Y'see, we'se the backstop in this here game. And if the men misses the ball, we'se gonna ketch it!"

All misunderstanding seemed to fall away in the hearty, militant laughter that followed.

And as these Negroes closed their convention business and swung into their Union songs, I, too, joined in. As I was looking about the hall, I caught the eyes of a young white fellow on the other side of the room. We both stopped short, a bit embarrassed by our own enthusiasm and stared at each other for a moment with our mouths hanging open. Then we both smiled at our foolish self-consciousness and resumed the song, as though saying to each other, "This is important for us, too."

The great symphonic orchestration of voices rose and swelled from a hundred black throats, producing a music of misery and suffering, but not of resignation. Across my memory lay the rumor I had heard last summer that Jed was in jail. I anxiously wondered where he could be, as in my mind beat all the sad tales of woe and oppression I had heard from the lips of Jed's people. Into the music came the belligerent, sensible talk of the shrivelled little fellow who had refused to sign the landlord's tenantry contract. Came the soft-spoken lyric of the man whose wife had been ill and without aid since their eviction last spring. Came the scrappy complaint of the young-looking woman who clamored for education for her children. Came the endless, incredible account of many woes and many hardships. Came the whole South, trampled and rotted and miserable.

But above it all came the strong, sweet melody of militancy and hope.

* * * * *

As this last session of the sharecroppers' convention broke up, with music coursing through the brains, the bodies and the speech of everyone, I walked over to the young white fellow at the other side of the room. He seemed to be expecting me, so we shook hands and then introduced ourselves, though it hardly seemed necessary. He was a tall, broad-shouldered chap, a theological student, with a handsome, ruddy face and a strong grip. We fell easily into conversation.

(*Continued on page* 280)

Saga of Jesse Owens

This editorial from Cleveland, Ohio's famous daily paper, The Plain Dealer, speaks for itself

A HEARTENING thing comes to our disturbed times this week. James Cleveland Owens, at the Berlin Olympics, is putting on the same one-man track show he originated on cinder paths here. He now holds or shares world records for three events, and Paavo Nurmi's is the only name in the history of modern athletics they can find to toss in with his.

This slender Cleveland Negro youth with the tiny ankles, long legs, and light chocolate skin becomes a character for the whole world's wonderment, six brief years from the days when he raced on E. 107th Street in tennis shoes. Reichsfuehrer Hitler salutes him with an arm wave and a smile for beating the Nordic heroes. In Rome, the Scandinavian countries, Cairo, the planters' clubs in Oriental jungles, Australia, everywhere the cables go, men and women who follow the sport climaxes (and how few do not!) are reading about, talking about, trying to visualize Jesse Owens. His victories must be a comfort to poor Haile Selassie in exile. It is conceivable that Il Duce, Edward VIII, Stalin, Emperor Hirohito, President Roosevelt, Governor Landon, J. P. Morgan and even Anthony Eden must have noticed these last few days, the name and performances of Jesse Owens; possibly sighed for their own youth-times and wondered what life would have been like had they been able to run a 10.2s 100-meter dash.

Owens' fame is Cleveland's fame, in a year when Cleveland is having good advertisements of its achievements. And to have produced such an athlete is a fine reputation for a city.

Born on an Alabama farm, one of eight children, to sharecropper parents. Raised in the abject poverty of southern tenant agriculture, the Owens family migrated to Cleveland in the industrial trek of the war years and James Cleveland became one of the thousands of colored children living in the congested East Side. In time he reached Fairmount Junior High School, where teaches Charles Riley, one-time athlete and volunteer coach of schoolboy runners. It was a piece of luck for James—by now called Jesse from having given his name in school as "J. C."—to know Teacher Riley, for most junior highs have limited athletic activities.

Building a boys' track team, Riley met Jesse, timed him in a sprint down E. 107th, was startled, and immediately dedicated himself to hunting that coaches' will-o-the-wisp, the perfect sprinter. Riley learned all about the boy, took him under his wing, walked with him in the parks, talked to him about things far more important than racing; about life, perfection, 100 per cent mental as well as physical fitness. On some days after school, training was merely a lecture, in terms understood by a bright boy, on philosophy. So Jesse came to be not only a great but an understanding track athlete. He was passed along to a high school coach with experience and feeling similar to Riley's, Ed Weil of East Tech, and when he was ready for college Ohio State's staff was primed and eager for him.

The Owenses are colored, so they do not have quite an even chance in this civilization. They returned to poverty in the depression years and know what it is to go hungry. Jesse told in Berlin this week how on some days his family lived on carp caught by neighbors. The Owenses are good people, churchgoers, good citizens unafraid of hard work. Jesse's mother is better than an average student of the Bible and trusts God completely. She and her husband have dignity and sensitiveness which no poverty, no bitter blows by life can overcome. They raised a son who not only could be a great athlete, but could also remain modest about it to the point of embarrassment.

So this week you saw a fine debt being repaid. The sharecroppers' boy owes something to nature and a great deal to his father and mother. He owes something to a city which gave him Charles Riley, school teacher, a city which stands for giving a chance to every boy who will work and train. He owes something to Ohio State University's tradition of giving opportunity to merit, and to the taxpayers of a state proud of its university. He owes something devout to America. In what other country would this saga of Jesse Owens come true? And now in a week of astounding physical performance and courage, before the eyes of the world, Jesse Owens is paying much of these debts—not the least by remaining the gentle, modest, happy boy Cleveland knows. An American Negro youth ventures onto the stage occupied prominently by a Nazi dictator and steals the spotlight from him for a little while. The bright glow of romance hovers over such a feat.

JESSE OWENS
When he was national high school champion

League of Colored Peoples Holds Tea

The members of the League of Colored Peoples of London, England, were entertained at tea July 25, by the Rev. Leslie Atkins of the Congregational church and Mr. and Mrs. F. R. Wright.

After tea, John Payne sang spirituals; speeches were made by Dr. Parrish, recently from Jamaica; the Rev. D. W. Pollard, from British Guiana; Chief Moore from the Gold Coast; Mr. Kobina Kwira, Gold Coast; Mr. Tracy Phillips and Lady Proctor of England.

The speeches were followed by a tap dancing exhibition by Ken Johnson.

Wins Scholarship

Kenneth Reed Merchant of South Bend, Indiana, a graduate of the South Bend high school, won the $100 scholarship of the Sanhedrian club for the best average in his high school course. Young Merchant will matriculate at Purdue university in the fall in the school of electrical engineering.

Full Equality of Races and Nations

By Chatwood Hall

The new constitution of the Soviet Union should be of interest to all working class people everywhere, but one section of it, discussed here, is of especial interest to Negro Americans

ON a cold February day in 1935 the writer sat in the Great Palace of the Kremlin. Outside, the bitter Russian winter gripped everything within its icy embrace; but inside, there was warmth and comraderie, color and animation. Spread out below the press gallery was a human mosaic of all colors in endless gradations, ranging from black to white. Here were brown and black Uzbeks and Tadjiks, there white Russians and Ukrainians, yonder yellow Caucasians and Kazaks, and to the left almond-eyed citizens from the Far East and swarthy Abkhazians.

The Seventh Congress of the Soviets was in session, and this human mosaic was composed of delegates from that one-sixth of the earth which has established a Free Society, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. In the presidium were Stalin, calmly smoking a curved briar pipe, the ubiquitous Kalinin, and various of the People's Commissars and leaders. Before the microphone in the speaker's rostrum stood bespectacled, full-foreheaded Molotov, Chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars. Prefacing his speech with the word, "Tovarischi" (Comrades), Molotov began:

> "The question of making certain amendments to the Soviet constitution has been submitted to this Congress..... The question was raised at the initiative of Comrade Stalin."

Tumultuous cries of "Hurrah" in many tongues, the many-nationed delegates all standing and fervently clapping their hands in approval of this momentous announcement, shook this former throne-room of the Tsars. Since this historic moment a commission, headed by Stalin, has been hard at work on the suggested amendments to the Soviet constitution; and on June 11, 1936, it presented to Soviet workers the result of its labor: the draft of a new constitution which is generally conceded by honest persons throughout the world to embody the most democratic and advanced features of any constitution in existence to-day.

Article 123

Consisting of thirteen chapters and 146 articles, the new constitution, in addition to proposing the creation of four new constituent republics within the Union, covers all phases of Soviet society from social organization and foreign relations to emblem and flag and the basic rights and obligations of citizens (Chapter 10). It is with Article 123 of this chapter that this article deals for two reasons, first, due to limitations of space, and, secondly, because it is precisely this Article which comes directly home to the hearts and bosoms of Negroes and other oppressed peoples the world over. The reader will, doubtless, by this time have read in the press the provisions of this epoch-making Article. Nevertheless, it is herewith printed for the benefit of those who through inattention, carelessness, or plain inertia may not have read and studied this momentous document which blazes like a beacon light to humanity in an increasingly fascist- and race-chauvinist-ridden world:

> "The equality of the rights of citizens of the USSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, *is an immutable law.*
>
> "Any direct or *indirect* restriction of these rights, or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, *as well as any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law.*"

This new Soviet constitution, although a document of the Socialist State, has a tremendous significance which far transcends the borders of the Workers' Republic. In capitalist society, bourgeois-democratic constitutions do speak of "equal rights," "freedom," "liberty," etc. of all citizens, *on paper,* whereas in actual life the very exploitative nature of such society foredooms to die aborning such an ideal and inevitably precludes the attainment of such an objective under the existing *status quo.* Masters and slaves, oppressed and oppressors, exploiters and exploited have never been, and can never be equal.

Not Possible Under Capitalism

Whether one be for or against the Socialist form of society, one must admit, if one has any respect for the truth, that the laurel for having established the first society, since the days of primitive communism, in which full and irrevocable equality exists between all citizens, regardless of race, color or nationality, goes to the Socialist State. And what is more, to speak frankly and truthfully, this honor could not and can not go to any other form of state for the simple reason that in the rest of the world classes and exploitation of man by man exist; and where these twin evils exist, talk about liberty, freedom, and equality can only be so much nonsense and empty talk. In a front-page editorial entitled, "Full Equality of Races and Nations," the Russian newspaper, "Pravda" (Truth), prints the following comment in this connection:

> "The existence of capitalism without national oppression is unthinkable, as is the existence of Socialism without the freedom of oppressed nations, without national freedom."

There has hardly been a revolution in modern times which did not have as a slogan or claim as one of its aims the establishment of the "rights of man," "liberty, equality, fraternity," "all men are born free and equal," etc. etc. Such high-sounding, idealistic phrases have always resulted in the cart being ahead of the horse, in that such declarations and programs set down on paper an objective ostensibly to be realized sometime in the future. But in fact, the realization of such aims has proved to be inversely to the inevitable growth of the contradictions inherent in the existing system of society. Witness the growth of fascism and race-chauvinism and the pushing of the masses further and further away from the apparatus of the state.

Why has it been possible, then, for the Soviet Union, alone of the other five-sixths of the earth, to be able within less than two decades to incorporate in its basic law an article guaranteeing full and inviolable equality to all races and nations? It was only a little more than eighteen years ago that the workers of Russia overthrew the Tsarist autocracy and established their own rule. For more than a year the country existed without any constitution whatsoever, until late in 1918 Lenin wrote the first Soviet constitution. Since that time tremendous changes have taken place in Soviet Russia. Socialist ownership and production predominate, the

land has been nationalized and the farms collectivized, private property in the means of production has been abolished, private trade and exploitation of man by man do not exist, a new Socialist generation has grown up, even the mind of the population has gone through a complete transformation, and classes, the crux of the whole problem, have been entirely liquidated.

"Superiority" Ruled Out

Former chauvinistic bourgeois theories of "superior and inferior races," "Great Russians and Little Russians," "Destiny of the white race to rule," "Innately backward races," and such similar pseudo-scientific bourgeois ideology have been knocked into a cocked hat. The dusky Uzbeks, Tadjiks, Turcoman and dozens of other national minority peoples were freed by the Proletarian Revolution from ages of oppression, exploitation and colonial existence under Tsarism and capitalism. Self-determination was established for all nations within the former Russian Empire, even to the extent of withdrawing from the Soviet Union if they so desired.

The Bolsheviks took the bull by the horns and threw him for the count. They adopted a national policy granting equality to all races and nations; they gave them the right to rule themselves, to develop their economy and their culture in their own language. All races and nationalities were given the right to elect and be elected, economic and social equality were thrust upon them, and a Council of Nationalities was established to protect the rights and interests of national peoples. This Council is one of the two chambers comprising the highest governing body. Without the approval of the Council of Nationalities no law can become effective in the Soviet Union.

Unlike in bourgeois parliamentary states, the Bolsheviks remade society first, remade the people, then set about clinching, consolidating and incorporating the achieved equality of races and nations in the fundamental law of the land. The Socialist Society is a fact, classes do not exist, and 170 million Soviet workers of all colors and dozens of nationalities are now on the threshold of the higher stage of communism leading to abolition of the state, money, distinctions between mental and physical labor, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, all of which in the higher stage of communism will have no purpose to serve.

One of the most distinctive and far-reaching features of Article 123 is that part prohibiting the propagation of racial prejudice and hatred and contempt against any race or nationality. What other state in the world has incorporated, or wishes to incorporate in its fundamental law a statute prohibiting the propagation of hatred and contempt between races and nationalities? Fascist Germany and Poland nourish and encourage racial antagonism and no parliamentary government in the world seriously concerns itself with such a matter; rather is it winked at. In Hitler's Germany the fascists have the right to issue laws in accordance with their constitution and "outside of the procedure provided for in the constitution of the Reich" (Germany, Act of 1933). Just what those laws are which are issued "outside the constitution" are attested to by the bloody terror laws and regulations against Jews and Negroes. In Soviet Russia the elected deputies to the Soviets are responsible to the people, who may recall them, but in fascist Poland the rulers are responsible only . . . "to God and history" (Clause 2, Polish constitution, 1934).

Minorities Handicapped

Minority nationalities in the capitalist world, and especially Negroes, find themselves not being drawn closer to the apparatus of government (they were never very close), but shunted more and more away from participation in the rule of themselves and the state, as witness the innumerable electoral disabilities to which they are subjected: property qualifications, educational qualifications, Grandfather clauses, open violence and terror, etc., not to mention Black Legions, Ku Klux Klans and other fascist and chauvinistic terrorist organizations. But throughout the 8,200,000 square miles comprising the Soviet Union, 180 nationalities are now discussing in 150 languages and dialects their new constitution which clearly reflects and sets forth the successes and achievements of the Socialist Society, under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, during the eighteen years of its existence down to the present time. In this document, which a great bourgeois newspaper has called the "greatest charter of civil rights in the history of mankind," they see with renewed vividness and conviction that "All power in the USSR belongs to the toilers of the town and village in the form of Soviets of toilers deputies" and that the Soviet Union is a "Socialist state of workers and peasants."

Since the days of primitive communism, when human beings lived in a state of classless equality, through long ages of slavery and feudalism, toiling mankind has yearned and struggled for a society which precluded one human being, or race of human beings, from hating, oppressing and exploiting another, caught in the vise of his environment, his inward desires have always and everywhere been thwarted. For his ideal he has often taken the path of revolution, only to find in the end that the revolution proved to be one-sided: one set of oppressors and exploiters merely replaced another, and, as an inevitable concomitant, the merry reign of race-chauvinism, pogroms and lynchings, terror and fascism, disfranchisement and repression, went, and goes, merrily on.

To participation in this Bacchanalian scourge of mankind, the Russian workers called a halt in 1917. In a business-like, logical and scientific manner, they set about removing the cause, i. e., an exploitative society, and for the past eighteen years they have been diligently and unrelentingly rooting out all remnants and roots of that former virus. The result is the present Socialist Society on one-sixth of the earth, a "brotherhood of nations" with full and equal rights for all nations and races, and now a new constitution which incorporates and consolidates this principle as an irrevocable and inviolable right of all citizens in the basic law of the land.

Four New Books

Four new books on the American Negro have just come from the Friendship Press, of the Missionary Education Movement, 150 Fifth avenue, New York. This series, which presents a study of the Negro, is made up of the following titles:

"A Preface to Racial Understanding," by Charles S. Johnson;

"The Story of the American Negro," by Ina Corinne Brown;

"Twelve Negro Americans," by Mary Jenness; and

"We Sing America," by Marion Cuthbert.

Catalogues Requested

Many hundreds of requests for information about schools and colleges come to the N.A.A.C.P. each year. In order to answer these completely it is necessary that we have catalogues of all the colored schools and colleges. In the past these schools have cooperated nicely by sending in their catalogues but the Association would like to have a still more complete list and therefore will appreciate it if school officials will mail to 69 Fifth avenue a copy of their latest catalogue.

Most Valuable Athlete

Alpheus Charles Duvall of Loyola university, Los Angeles, Calif., was voted the most valuable athlete of the college this spring.

The Failure at Geneva

By David H. Bradford

The need for some agency to regulate the world community is demonstrated by the failure of the League of Nations to function in the Italo-Ethiopian war, declares this writer

THE failure of the League of Nations to find a satisfactory settlement to the controversy between Ethiopia and Italy brings to the front again the need for some legal means to settle international disputes just as disputes between individuals within the state are settled according to principles of law.

In the days of feudalism before the emergence of strong centralized governments there was little or no possibility of securing justice. Frankly, he who was strong was right and there was no hypocrisy about the matter. When one individual ran afoul of another, there was no impartial agency to adjust the matter however simple it may have been. The individual, together with his relatives, who felt that he had been wronged sought his own revenge. With the appearance of the national states in the sixteenth century, the national monarchs, having suppressed such rival disintegrating influences as the nobles, cities, and legislatures and having gained control over the church to a great extent, were in a position to assert their authority over individual persons within the state. Justice ceased to be a matter of blood-revenge and came to be one of the prerogatives of the king. Misunderstandings between individuals were no longer settled by the individuals concerned; the state was rapidly becoming strong enough to act as judge between the disputants and force its conclusions upon both parties to the dispute.

This development was not an easy, painless one, but a slow, bitterly resisted effort undertaken by individual kings who sometimes did not realize themselves the great significance of the task in which they were engaged. Out of the struggle came our present system of national justice which in theory, at any rate, guarantees to every individual equal treatment before the law whether he be strong or weak. In the national community principles of law rather than brute force are now determinative of what is just and what is unjust. Though, true enough here and there, there are still instances of miscarriages of justice, it is undeniable on the whole that the machinery set up in these communities to administer justice does work with some degree of satisfaction. To keep this machinery well oiled and operating smoothly for the benefit of all is the ideal of all the countries of the civilized world. Few persons would question the value of this ideal in so far as a single state is concerned for in practice it has stood the test of time and works well.

Loss to the World

Now what is good for the part should be good for the whole. Each national state is a member of the international community and if the ideal is a good one for a single state it should work well for world society. This is the crux of the matter. When the League failed Ethiopia it failed the world. The League has proved time and again that it is unable to cope with important crises, but this does not mean that *a league* properly organized with adequate means to enforce its decisions would necessarily fail when put to the test. The rapid advancement in methods and means of warfare make such a league imperative if what little of civilization we have is to survive. The fear engendered in the national states by the building of rival armies and navies and the great expense attendant upon such activities have combined to create a state of nervous tension among the nations which may lead to a more disastrous catastrophe than that of 1914. At present there is no organization anywhere in the world sufficiently strong to prevent such a calamity.

The failure at Geneva then calls again to the attention of the world the need for some kind of international organization to safeguard the international community. A weak country like Ethiopia should not have appealed in vain to the rest of the civilized world when she had been subjected to wanton aggression. When Haile Selassie appeared in person to appeal to the League and met with failure, the League took another step in the direction of its own destruction and with its destruction the ideal of peaceable settlements of international controversies must find another means to achieve reality. Whatever the means the world community must protect the weak or degenerate into conditions worse than those of feudalism.

Such failures as the recent one at Geneva make the creation of an institution embodying the ideal of universal peace an extremely difficult task. Each additional failure has the same effect upon the morale of the international community as repeated failures on the part of a national government to end a depression has upon individuals within the state. Failure inevitably destroys confidence; without confidence in the possibility of achievement of the ideal all is lost. The failure at Geneva, then, was significant not only for Ethiopia but for all the world as well. And this seems to be its importance. What is there to prevent the recurrence of the imperialistic activities of Japan in China or to stop Germany should she attempt to regain her African colonies? Certainly not the League of Nations! That there should be in existence somewhere some means to effect this must be apparent to all who wish to see.

Selfishness in Saddle

The international community is at present so poorly organized that designing persons in places of power flout with impunity all the rules of world comity. Selfish desire is in the saddle. An Italian dictator recognizes the growing apathy of his people and fearing for his own security diverts the attention of his people from his own short-comings to the grandeur of imperial conquest. What if the independence of Ethiopia is lost in the scramble? Will not Mussolini be more firmly entrenched in power than ever before? Will Victor Emanuel not be Emperor of Ethiopia, if not king of Italy? A military machine in Japan feels the same insecurity and again some member of the helpless international community must suffer. So, like Piggly Wiggly, all over the world, selfish desire and greed rather than the welfare of even the national community determine national policy.

All too often then some nation motivated by selfish desire embarks upon an imperialistic venture. The leaders in the movement realize full well the pitfalls involved and know that imperialism is a delusion. Imperialism is usually justified on the grounds of need for additional territory on which to settle surplus population, need for raw materials and need for markets in which to sell finished goods. Now as a matter of fact none of these things result to any great degree from imperialism. Few natives from the imperialistic country settle in the newly acquired territory and trade usually follows the cheapest market wherever located. But successful imperialism does bolster up waning popularity at home and therefore serves its perpetrators well. The masses are

unsuspecting, so the powers that be go merrily on their way unchecked by any influence within their own state.

An Empty Gesture

Unfortunately this lassitude is found in the international community as well. Italy embarked upon her imperial venture into Ethiopia unheralded and unsung by any of the great powers. Soon sanctions were clamped upon Italy, but to no avail. Mussolini openly mocked the League. Successful in spite of sanctions, Italy triumphantly—not to say brazenly—appeared before the League for its blessings upon what she had accomplished. By this time the powers were ready to remove the sanctions and Haile Selassie's plea before the League was futile. To save their faces, Great Britain, France, and Russia declared that they would not recognize Italy's annexation of Ethiopia. But this is no promise of world peace and certainly no deterrent to unprovoked aggression. At best it is an empty gesture in the right direction. But gestures will not penetrate the tough hide of selfish dictators. This adoption on the part of some of the great powers of the Stimson doctrine that the acquisition of territory by force would not be recognized will avail nothing. Recognized or nonrecognized, Italy will in all probability remain in Ethiopia.

This, of course, will mean the end of Ethiopia's independence. Bad as this is it tells only part of the story. The better part at that. Ethiopia was not alone in the struggle, for in a real sense every small nation in the world was vitally interested in the outcome. And what is more, the world community and the only organization it has effected up to this time for the preservation of peace were weighed and found wanting. The task remaining before the world is to create a more effective institution whereby international disputes may be settled according to principles of law rather than by the dictates of force. It is not an easy task. National rivalries and jealousies must be taken into consideration and somehow eliminated. All members of the international community must be made to feel as safe as the weakest individual now feels in the presence of the security which his national government affords him.

Under the protection of law both the lion and the lamb—the strong and the weak—must feel that there is no longer need for study of war, to prepare for it or concern themselves with it in any way whatsoever. The use of force never proves a point; if Italy had no right to enter into Ethiopia originally, then her successful use of force does not give her that right. Until the nations of the world realize this and make some definite arrangements for the execution of the decisions of some impartial international institution for the adjudication of international disputes, world society must face over and over again the shame and humiliation of allowing the strong to browbeat the weak.

Win College Scholarships

ARLEIN FORD

ROBERT ROBINSON

To Miss Arlein Ford, 16, and Robert Robinson, 18, go the first of the Rachel Herstein scholarships for study in college. Both are June, 1936, graduates of New York City high schools, Miss Ford from the Wadleigh high school annex and Mr. Robinson from DeWitt Clinton high school.

The scholarships are $100 each and may be retained by the two winners, providing they maintain satisfactory college averages, throughout their four years in college.

The scholarships have been established by Dr. B. Herstein of New York City in memory of his mother. Dr. Herstein requested the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to act as trustee for the scholarship fund and to select the successful recipients in the years when funds are available.

Miss Ford, who lives with her mother, Mrs. Olive Ford, at 107 West 143d Street, New York City, was third in her class of 193 at the Wadleigh high school annex. She plans to enroll at Hunter college this fall to study to become a social worker. While in high school she made an exceptionally high average in foreign languages.

Mr. Robinson was in the upper tenth of his class of 1,266 at DeWitt Clinton high school where he made a very high record not only in scholarship but as an all around student. Both the scholarship winners are members of honor societies and have been active in extra-curricular activities. Mr. Robinson is the son of the Reverend and Mrs. R. J. Robinson, 366 Macon street, Brooklyn, New York. He plans to take a pre-medical course at New York university and later to study at McGill university in Montreal.

In establishing the fund Dr. Herstein expressed his deep interest in the necessity of training young colored people not only to be competent in their chosen fields of endeavor, but to be leaders in a militant philosophy for the betterment of their race. In his specifications for the guidance of the N.A.A.C.P. as trustee he has limited the scholarships to the graduates of the high schools of the City of New York and has declared that no scholarship may be awarded for study in a denominational college. There is to be no discrimination between the sexes, and the trustee may or may not continue the scholarship of $100 a year throughout the four years of one student's career. The 1936 schedule of dividends from the scholarship fund permitted the awarding of only two this year. Two more will be available in the spring of 1937.

Twilight Of The Gods

Courtesy Baltimore (Md.) *Sun*

Editorials

Small Acts from A Small Man

CYNICS are trying to say they never expected Germany's Hitler to do anything except snub America's track ace, Jesse Owens. They are having a hard time with their labored sarcasm. Most people—even those familiar with the Hitler creed on superior and inferior races—did not expect that the ruler of a great modern nation would so belittle himself as to refuse a sportsmanlike handshake and word of commendation to winning athletes and guests of Germany, no matter what their color happened to be.

Hitler was on the spot. He has been telling Germans for years that they are the chosen people of the world and all others, especially Jews and black people, are the low scum of the earth, incapable of the acts of men. Yet here before the amazed German nation were black and brown boys taking honors over the selected athletes of fifty nations. Hitler could have greeted all winners impartially. He could have rationalized the occurrences to his people by saying either on the spot or later that the Olympic games are, after all, sport; that in the serious business of life Germans and Aryans are supreme, etc., etc.

But Hitler, although head of a nation, is a small man, surrounded by pompous small men. Small men are capable only of small acts. If a Roehm becomes too powerful, shoot him down; if a Jew is a great scholar, drive him out of the country, confiscate his property; if a flying Negro boy runs faster and jumps farther than any other boy in the world, turn your back, hurry for home to "avoid a traffic jam."

One good thing Little Hitler did for Negro Americans—

Fascism Now Means Something

THE meaning of fascism, about which we have been hearing so much, is becoming clearer and clearer to millions of Negro Americans who have not troubled themselves about it heretofore.

Soapbox orators and pamphleteers and editorial writers and some few college professors have been voices crying in the wilderness trying to show the American Negro the dangers of fascism. The masses have been indifferent.

But Hitler has changed all that. He is the high priest of fascism. He ignored American Negro world and Olympic champions. Ergo, fascism is the last thing American Negroes want. They are now ready to listen to the more intricate explanations of the true evils of fascism. To them, now, it is a system where a white man who runs third is greater than a Negro who runs first, breaks a world record, and gets a gold medal. That is as bad as Mississippi. From that foundation the workers against fascism ought to be able to build a good machine among Negroes.

Industrial Unions and the Negro Worker

THE battle now being waged within the ranks of organized labor between the newly formed Committee for Industrial Organization, headed by John L. Lewis, and the rest of the American Federation of Labor under the leadership of William Green, is of peculiar interest to the Negro workers of America.

It is not to be denied that the American Federation of Labor, with its organization based upon craft unions, has discriminated against Negro workers. Regardless of high-sounding pronouncements from the leaders of the A. F. of L., Negroes are barred by constitutional language in many unions and by custom from others. Little or no attempt has been made by the A. F. of L. to organize the millions of unskilled white and colored workers.

Now comes John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, an industrial, rather than a craft union, and initiates a campaign to organize these millions into industrial unions. He has gathered about him ten powerful unions and has chosen the steel industry for his first effort.

If the new Committee for Industrial Organization follows the pattern of the United Mine Workers of America—and there seems no reason to doubt that it will—in the matter of a color line in labor, then Negro workers ought to flock to the C.I.O. unhesitatingly, for the U.M.W. are known far and wide for their absolute equality, regardless of color.

More and more people are realizing that no matter what difficulties and prejudices have to be overcome by both races, the ultimate security of black and white labor will be achieved only in a union of all workers for the attainment of a common objective in the face of a common enemy—an enemy that has too long played the one against the other for the exploitation of both.

"Black Auxiliaries"

THERE is something a little pathetic and yet quite logical in the cry the Germans have raised that the American Negro Olympic stars are not really Americans, but "black auxiliary forces" for the American team. Ernest Hanfstaengel, Harvard-trained Nazi leader, is reported by Grantland Rice as saying there was no resentment against the Negro aces, but that if Germany had had them she would have entered them "from the colonies."

The European mind cannot understand the situation in America where Negroes on paper and in some few places are American citizens, but *in cold reality* are not American citizens. Germans look at the reality, not the phrases of the Constitution. They see Negroes as wards, as Africans tolerated in America for sentimental reasons. So they feel America played a trick on them by "ringing in" colored boys. Germany knows that millions of Negroes are not allowed to vote. She knows that mobs make sport of black men upon the slightest pretext, without the government lifting a hand to apprehend lynchers. She knows that while Ohio State university has its Owens, there are hundreds of colleges throughout the land where a Negro had better not try even to walk across the campus. She knows that in practically all places of public accommodation Negroes are humiliated and insulted. She might even have heard that this same phenomenal youngster, Jesse Owens, went to California with his track team last year and was refused a room by a Los Angeles hotel. Yet the next day he entered four events and won four first places.

Germany means that Uncle Sam has not been sporting about the whole business. All along he has been saying to them, "We white people, etc.", but when he gets in a pinch, he reaches down and uses his colored citizens-in-name-only. He did that during the World War. In the hour of crisis they become American citizens, "our fighters," "our athletes."

Germany objects to this wishy-washy method. THE CRISIS objects, also, but not bitterly. We know the situation better than Nazi-drilled editorial writers and better than Harvard's piano-playing "Putzy" Hanfstaengel. We know that Jesse's winged feet have speeded interracial understanding and appreciation in this country. We are several notches above where we were before he sailed away July 15. But Jesse and his people richly deserve to be given all the rights and privileges of American citizens. Then the next time some nation casts aspersions on our athletes and our country we can produce more than sickly smirks.

Slave Struggles

(*Continued from page 265*)

after night. Sometimes the houses were burned to the ground. Although the guilty party or parties were never caught the authorities attributed the acts of arson to the restive slaves.

Savannah, Georgia, was the scene of a slave plot to destroy all the whites in 1728. At that time there were 3,000 whites and 2,700 blacks in Georgia. Had the conspirators not disagreed among themselves on the details of the plan the population of Georgia might have become 2,700 free blacks and many hundred enslaved whites, at least, for a short time. The Chickasaw Indians in Louisiana in 1730 incited the fierce Banbara Negroes to revolt. These Negroes intended to kill all the whites and establish a Banbara colony enslaving all the blacks not of their own tribe. A woman's indiscreet garrulity gave the scheme away before it had had time to ripen. The leader, Samba, and eight conspirators were broken on the wheel and the woman was hanged.

The arrival of Colonel Spotswood in Williamsburgh, Virginia, in 1730 was the cause of a slave revolt. A rumor was circulated that Colonel Spotswood had orders from his Majesty to free all baptized persons. As the rumor passed from one slave quarter to another it grew until the Negroes decided they were being held illegally. The resulting revolt was of such extent that the whites in five counties were up in arms to subdue the slaves with orders to kill all who did not readily submit.

The Carolina Insurrections

In the same year, 1730, still another insurrection took place. In South Carolina a number of slaves planned to meet at a central location in a prominent town under the guise of attending a dance. When a sufficient number had gathered they would seize arms, slaughter the whites, and take charge of the town. With that accomplished they intended to move on to the plantations. Many of the slaves had already assembled when, at the last minute, some whites got wind of the scheme. An armed band of whites surrounded the Negroes, dispersed them and immediately executed the leaders.

The Indians in western Pennsylvania, who were known to be sympathetic to the French, figured indirectly in a scheme of the blacks in Burlington, Pennsylvania, in 1734. The slaves planned to rise on a certain night, kill every master and his sons, sparing only the women, slaughter all the draught animals, set fire to all the buildings and use the saddle horses for flight to the Indians. Some hundreds of slaves were involved in the plot.

South Carolina was the scene of three formidable insurrections in 1739 all of which were said to have been fomented by the Spaniards through the teachings of their priests and their friendly reception to the fugitives. According to one account above twenty whites were murdered in one of these revolts for which all of the leaders were executed. In another of these insurrections in 1739 thirty-four whites were killed and forty or fifty of the slaves sentenced to death, some by being shot, others hanged and others gibbetted alive. These horrible punishments did not deter the slaves for in the following year there was another revolt in which about twenty persons were killed before it was quelled. One can almost hear the slaves of South Carolina muttering in secret gatherings, "Might as well be dead as living no freer than a dog." And so, they tried and tried again, always reaching for the sun, losing leaders and producing new ones.

Arson in New York

One of the outstanding slave conspiracies of the 18th century in the United States took place not in the South but in New York City in 1741. The population of New York at that time consisted of 12,000 whites and 2,000 blacks. The first indication that anything was amiss was a fire which destroyed the Fort. Other fires followed, sometimes four in a day. It was suspected that the Negroes were setting the buildings on fire and many were arrested on suspicion. Always, however, they were able to deny successfully any knowledge of the cause of the fires until a slave named Quack confessed to having set fire to the Fort. With this as a start an investigation began which brought to light evidence indicating that almost every Negro in New York and some in the county had been participants in a plot to burn the city and massacre the people. Among the leaders were found a white man named Hudson, his wife and another white woman. Of the leaders thirteen were burned alive, eighteen were hanged and eighty transported to the West Indies.

Another case in which Negroes were inhumanly burned alive as punishment for attempting to throw off their bonds occurred in 1754 near Charleston, South Carolina where the Negro women, on a plantation set fire to the buildings. For this act of property damage in which no lives were lost two of the women were burned alive.

Just as today the Negro is used as a political football, when he was a slave reactionary elements tried to use him as a cat's paw. The Royal Governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, was deposed in 1775. Realizing that any struggle to regain control of the State would be hopeless if attempted by only his small group of loyalist followers Lord Dunmore decided to utilize the slaves, if possible. To all who would follow him he promised freedom, but only a few hundred colored men responded to his appeal. After a few unsuccessful battles he was forced to give up the struggle.

The activities of the daring slaves of the West Indies in the 1790s, especially those of San Domingo, had a deep influence on the Negroes in the United States. This was especially true of Louisiana. The New Orleans Council prohibited the introduction of slaves from San Domingo but the ideas of equality which had proven so successful filtered into even the remote cabins of Louisiana. The insurrection which resulted was suppressed. The three white men who were involved were exiled from the State but the Negro leaders were executed.

A plot which deserves to rank among the cleverest in this country was the one discovered in Camden, South Carolina in 1816. The plan seems to have consisted of burning part of the town, killing the men and reserving the women, according to a southerner, for "a destiny still more horrible and revolting." It is of interest to note in passing that the southern whites always shriek to the high heavens at the mere thought of their women being outraged by Negroes but they speak quite calmly, and frequently boast, of violating Negro women. It is not to be wondered at that the slaves in some cases planned to retaliate for the uncivilized conduct of their masters; in fact, it is very surprising that the cases in which they planned to imitate the barbarities of southern plantation "civilization" occur so rarely.

To return to the Camden Insurrection of 1816, it was given away by a confidential slave. Six of the leaders were hanged. A white man living in Camden at the time says that the most intelligent slaves involved in the affair admitted that they had no complaint to make against their individual masters. He says that they acted in a few cases from lust for plunder but a majority were actuated by "wild and frantic ideas of the rights of man." The world owes a great deal to such "wild and frantic ideas."

A white ex-soldier organized an insurrectionary plot in Virginia in the same year. The slaves intended to attack Fredericksburg and then march on Richmond armed mainly with scythes. In Richmond they would seize arms, slay anyone who stood in opposition and take control of the city. This insurrectionary scheme was one of the few in which whites had a leading role.

(*Continued on page 284*)

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

Preventing Registration

Savannah, Ga., *Tribune*

MORE than two years ago a number of colored citizens of Wilkesboro Township, N. C., were prevented from being registered as voters by the district registrar. The registrar adopted subterfuges to discourage the applicants. In this he failed, because they were determined to become qualified voters. Upon final refusal legal proceedings were resorted to in the federal courts. Efforts were even made to discourage this attempt, but it was fought to a successful finish. For this registration refusal, the registrar was found guilty. He was fined three hundred dollars with a probated sentence of three years. This is a remarkable case. It is the first time to our knowledge that any one has been convicted for refusing to register colored applicants for voting. The event should be widely published in order that those who have charge of registration in other states may note it and be less "hard boiled" in dealing with colored applicants. It is our hope that this registrar will be retained, because he has learned a lasting lesson. He will profit thereby and think many times before refusing any colored person registration.

Using the same technique by which it earned a decision from the Maryland Court of Appeals, opening the University of Maryland to all students, the N.A.A.C.P. lost its case in Missouri where it sought admission of a colored student to the university law school.

Missouri's lower court ruled that that State provides for separate schools and has provided a separate university (Lincoln) at Jefferson City, and that the N.A.A.C.P.'s remedy is to sue to compel the opening of a law school at Lincoln.

The N.A.A.C.P. will appeal to the higher Missouri court and eventually to the Supreme Court of the United States, but it will take several years to do it. . . .

In Maryland, both the lower court and the appeals court sustained the rights of colored people under the 14th Amendment to educational facilities equal to those given to other citizens. Missouri's lower court virtually says that the State law takes precedence over the 14th Amendment.

That is the old theory of States' rights, and the South has been getting away with it for sixty years. It is about time we put up the money to put the doctrine of States' rights in its place. The N.A.A.C.P. with proper support can do it. —The *Afro-American*.

What would do the world—as well as the more vociferous quacks of the United States—some good would be an honest reaffirmation of the constitutional guarantee that all men are created free and equal.

With that might come some realization that the three boys to whom Hitler was guilty of gross discourtesy are dark-skinned merely by the chance of centuries ago. By choice, as well as right, they are American citizens.

As one whose ancestors took considerable licking before signing on the line for the early 'teen amendments, I offer to advanced thinkers and peddlers of newspapers the thought they should be treated as such abroad as well as at home.—Hugh Bradley, sports columnist, New York *Post*.

The Ethiopians are fighting, dying, but winning though they lose because it is sweet to die for liberty. The onslaughts they are making on better armed troops are worthy of the best traditions of those who love their freedom.

Many an Englishman has been a superman because he read how his ancestor drew a bow at Hastings. For that reason the desperate struggle the Ethiopians are making is all the more glory to them. They are humanity's best example today of manhood. They may die, they will die, but of such stuff progress is made. We are proud that they are ours, an example which we can emulate.—*The Call*, Kansas City, Mo.

Although the tumult and the shouting are not yet over as we go to press, it is not too soon to pay tribute to those splendid young athletes who are bringing boundless glory and honor to their country and their race at the eleventh renewal of the modern Olympic games in Berlin. Strangely enough, the scene of greatest triumphs by Negro athletes in Olympic history is in Nazi Germany where the supposed inferiority of non-Aryan peoples is made political capital. . . .

There was considerable objection to participation by the United States in the games in Berlin because of Nazi policies towards non-Aryan races, but it may develop yet that these Olympic games are doing more than anything else to explode false theories of race superiority, and to bring to Germany again an appreciation of the cardinal precepts of Christianity. If this should happen, it will be good to recall that Jesse Owens, more than any other single individual, helped to bring it about. . . .—Norfolk *Journal and Guide*.

What promises to be an interesting lawsuit, seems to be in the making, as the Communist Party threatens to bring a libel suit against the *State Journal* of Topeka, a Republican newspaper, supporting Alf M. Landon for President.

The suit is to be based upon an editorial appearing in the *Journal*, which charges that all members of the Communist Party were required to take the Black Legion Oath, "under the penalty of death." . . .

When the expose of the dirty work of the Black Legion was first made in Detroit, it was charged that the Black Legion was in reality the "Wolverine Republican League," of Detroit, which banned Negroes, Jews and Catholics from its organization. The Communist and labor leaders also came under the state ban. Now, therefore, if the *State Journal* of Topeka has any evidence to show that the Communists are really behind the Black Legion, the public would like to know. We think that a lawsuit might determine who is in the Black Legion. . . .—St. Louis *Argus*.

Adolf Hitler, who derived the greatest pleasure from the fall of Joe Louis at the hands of the durable and determined Max Schmeling, probably is shivering with horror these days as he plays host to the Olympic games and watches his vaunted Aryans bow in defeat before black stars from America. . . .

The enthusiastic clamor for Owens by many Germans shows that the Nazi policy of humiliation and debasement of all non-Aryan peoples is not shared by the whole nation. Even a dictatorship makes it difficult to stifle the graciousness and decency of the German people.—*Amsterdam News*.

Steel

(*Continued from page* 263)

by piecemeal. In addition, instead of being able to organize the workers into one industrial union, with uniform wage agreements and uniform leadership and control, he had the task of organizing workers into 24 separate craft unions—each claiming jurisdiction over a segment of the workers; a policy making for heterodoxy in the face of complete unity of the steel trust. Not the least important of his difficulties was the discriminatory attitude of many of the A. F. of L. trade unions towards Negro workers. In one case, for example, Negro workers were brought into a plant to scab on striking white workers. When they learned of conditions, they marched in a body to the union offices, ready to join the union and take their places on the picket line. Union officials turned their backs on the men, who promptly returned to the company and broke the strike. Yet despite these handicaps, the organization campaign and the great steel strike of 1919, which followed it, struck terror into the hearts of the steel barons, brought out 365,000 men on strike and resulted in winning an eight hour day for steel workers.

Eighteen years later—years characterized by a hesitating, timid and stupid policy on the part of union officials—there appears a new, progressive and vigorous force determined to organize steel workers: The Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) and its Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC). The CIO is made up of 12 powerful trade unions having a membership of 1,250,000, or more than one-third of all organized workers in America. In the treasuries of these unions are several millions of dollars. In the employ of these unions are hundreds of trained organizers. At the head of these unions are men who have indicated their liberal views. In certain of these unions (unfortunately not all), especially the United Mine Workers of America, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers, are leaders who have shown sympathetic interest in Negro workers and their problems.

One Big Union

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee set up by the CIO began its campaign with one-half million dollars available. It has employed several hundred full time and part time organizers. It has established hundreds of mill committees of steel workers and has several thousand volunteer organizers in the field. Unlike the campaign of 1918-19, it has begun its organizational campaign in practically every steel plant in the country. Unlike that campaign also, it has by issuance of secret membership cards, prevented dismissals by the company of men who join the union. It has indicated in many ways a fair policy towards Negro workers. Of most importance is the fact that steel workers are being organized into one big industrial union, instead of 24 separate craft unions.

In this great campaign the National Negro Congress has played some part. It has supplied one full time and several part time organizers at its own expense; and has recommended several others who have been employed. In key communities it has organized corps of volunteer organizers. It has carried on educational campaigns among all elements of the Negro community in support of the drive. It has published already some 20,000 leaflets especially designed to meet the questions of Negro steel workers. And before this article is published it will have distributed many more thousands of leaflets, placed in the field additional corps of volunteer and paid organizers and carried through a program of at least four radio broadcasts for Negro steel workers in pivotal areas. It will lend its every energy to the success of this campaign.

It may be asked why the National Negro Congress, woefully weak financially, should use its slight funds to supplement those of the financially well equipped Steel Workers Organizing Committee. No better answer can be found than in the statement of the President of the Congress, A. Philip Randolph, writing a little more than a year ago:

> "Not only must Negro workers organize themselves, but what is as important they must pay the price in suffering, sacrifice and struggle. Even if the A. F. of L. could and would organize the Negro workers, without Negro workers going through the ordeal of fire of suffering, struggle and sacrifice, it would be more of a bane than a benefit, for Negroes would lack the experience, the class perception, courage and vision that are only born in a struggle for power."

Thus it must be the task of the Congress—as a federation of organizations—and of other organizations and individuals, to seek with every possible energy to recruit scores of thousands of Negro steel workers into the steel workers union. It should, of course, be understood that in rendering sincere and honest aid to this campaign, the Negro organizations supporting it are not writing the CIO a blank check; nor, indeed, must it be supposed that the CIO wishes us to. Once Negro workers are in the union, it must be our task and theirs to see to it that there is complete trade union democracy, with Negroes entitled to every office and every privilege granted other members. We must see to it that Negro steel workers have a part in the formulation of all union demands and the making of all agreements, to the end that once and for all inequalities in jobs, labor conditions and wages will be abolished. "Plan Eleven" in the steel industry must be no more. But it must be obvious that the best guarantee of fair treatment both by union officials and employers will be found in the solid organization of the nearly 85,000 Negro workers in the industry.

Will Aid All Workers

Not for themselves alone, but for all Black America, will Negro steel workers strike a telling blow for economic freedom by organization. For them it will mean the end of intolerable wage slavery. But 85,000 Negro steel workers with union cards will signal the beginning of the organization of all Negro workers. They will mark a start toward the liberation of hundreds of thousands of Negro sharecroppers, of hundreds of thousands of Negro women sweating away their lives as domestics. This will mean the winning of powerful allies in our struggle for democratic rights and civil liberties.

Negro steel workers cannot sit between two stools. They must choose between joining the union with their white fellow workers and taking the side of their slave driving employers. One road leads to a bright new day, the other leads to ruin. But what Negro men and women, who are not steel workers, must clearly see is that they too must make this choice; either, by lethargy and unconcern, to forfeit the chance to win economic freedom; or by active and unselfish aid in this drive to write a Magna Charta for black labor.

On Looking Backward

By M. Carl Holman

It is well to sing of our Race
And its golden history
Of the valorous deeds of Hannibal
And of swarthy Christophe.

One can never quite suppress
A glow of racial pride
On thinking of Frederick Douglass
Silver-tongued, fiery eyed.

Or of Attucks or of Washington
Or of others one could name
Who have given their race glory
And themselves eternal fame.

But while we prate on loudly
Of deeds and men long gone
Other races, looking forward
Are steadily marching on.

Baltimore Conference Resolutions

From the finest conference of the N.A.A.C.P. in many years, assembled at Baltimore, Md., June 29-July 5, came the following preamble and resolutions on matters affecting colored Americans

Preamble

Another year has passed with little fundamental change in the material status of the Negro. Discrimination in public and private employment and in the apportionment of relief continue practically unabated. Notorious is this discrimination in the South where under the bourbon regime which yet remains in power the plight of Negro Americans steadily grows worse. Lynching goes steadily on encouraged by the opposition of certain southern senators and congressmen to federal anti-lynching legislation; by the timidity of other congressmen who do not come from the south, yet who hesitate to force action by Congress on this issue; by the failure of the Department of Justice to function; and by the failure of the President to express himself to Congress on this issue. The rise of the Fascist organizations like the Black Legion, the lynching of white labor organizers in Florida, the flogging of southern white men and women in Arkansas, are arousing thoughtful Americans to a realization that mob violence knows no color line and that the lynchings of one racial or religious group inevitably lead to the lynchings of others.

In the face of this dark picture, however, certain notable gains stand out. The pressing forward of the campaign against discrimination in tax-supported educational institutions has resulted not only in the opening of doors hitherto believed closed permanently against Negroes but in a remarkable awakening of public consciousness to the nature and extent of this discrimination. The increasing independence and militancy of Negro voters in breaking away from meaningless party affiliations and the vigorous struggle in the Seventy-fourth Congress for anti-lynching and other legislation are creating a new respect for the intelligence and aggressiveness of Negro voters. Coupled with this has been the repudiation of venal politicians, white and Negro, who have failed in their duties and obligations. Such successes as have been gained in staying the hand of bigotry raised against Negroes in courts of law, as in the sweeping decision won in the United States Supreme Court in the cases of three Negro sharecroppers in Mississippi unjustly condemned to die and subjected to incredibly brutal torture; the staying of imposition of sentences in the Scottsboro and other cases affirm anew the wisdom of uncompromising struggles for the defense of the defenseless. Remarkable progress has been made during the past year by younger people in understanding the fundamental, economic, political and social background of the race problem, and significant steps have been taken towards joint action by white and Negro groups in attacking problems common to both racial groups.

These are sign posts, we believe, towards that unity of understanding and effort in creation of a new and more just society.

This Twenty-seventh Annual Conference of the N.A.A.C.P., in convention assembled, goes on record as follows specifically on these issues:

Education

We pledge ourselves to press forward with increased vigor the struggle against jim-crow and segregated educational opportunities in all institutions of public learning wherever they exist. We recognize as fundamental that so-called "equal but separate accommodations," whether in educational institutions, public conveyances or in any other phase of life, are a negation of the democratic process and impossible of attainment. We recognize fully that we face a difficult struggle but we are not deterred by the obstacles in our path towards the goals of full and unlimited educational opportunity.

Lynching

We appreciate the efforts by our friends in the 74th Congress to secure action on anti-lynching legislation through the signing of a petition for a Democratic caucus, the discharge of the judiciary committee and other means. We vigorously condemn the opposition or timidity of those members of both houses of Congress which blocked consideration of the anti-lynching bill. We condemn the tactics of certain leaders of the Democratic party who used chicanery to block the taking of a definite stand by the Democratic Caucus of the House of Representatives on the anti-lynching bill. We condemn the Audit and Control Committee of the Senate which failed to consider the Van Nuys resolution for a Senate investigation of lynching. We deplore the failure of the Republican minority in the House to take an official stand on the bill. We urge that all candidates for election to the Seventy-fifth Congress be asked to pledge themselves unequivocally not only to vote for an effective anti-lynching bill as soon after Congress convenes as is possible, but to support petitions to the Democratic Caucus and the Republican Conference for unequivocal declarations of party policy on this legislation, and to sign a discharge position should hostile members of the Judiciary or other committees of either house of Congress attempt again to block a vote. We record our appreciation to the growing number of senators and congressmen, Republican, Progressive and Farmer-Labor, Democratic, who fought vigorously in the Seventy-fourth Congress for consideration of an anti-lynching bill. We view this fight not as one primarily for the benefit of Negro Americans but for the benefit of all Americans since lynching is no longer a minor, a sectional, nor a racial matter.

POLITICAL DOPE

Statements from each of the political parties on issues affecting Negro Americans will be contained in the October issue of THE CRISIS. The New Deal, the Republicans, the Socialists, the Communists and the new Union Party will all have their say. Order your copy now from your newsboy or newsdealer. Out September 26.

Walsh-Healey Bill

We approve passage by the Congress of the Walsh-Healey bill to establish decent standards of wages, hours and working conditions in the manufacture of articles purchased by the federal government. We urge the Seventy-fifth Congress that a further step be taken by adoption of an amendment prohibiting discrimination on account of race, creed or color in employment in the manufacture of goods for the federal government.

Sharecroppers

We pledge anew our support of the heroic struggle of white and Negro sharecroppers to secure for themselves just and humane conditions. Involved in this struggle is much more than the immediate demands of the sharecroppers. We recognize that there will be no lasting solution of the problems sharecroppers face until there is a funda-

(*Continued on page* 283)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Pennsylvania Judge is Censured for Praising Lynching from Bench

The judiciary general committee of the Pennsylvania state legislature, early in August, voted a severe censure to Judge B. C. Atlee of Lancaster, Pa., for his remark on July 10 in his court room to a colored defendant up for sentence. The remark:

"If they had lynched you they would have been justified."

Judge Atlee was speaking to Samuel Watson, charged with enticing two teen-age girls. The judge, in lecturing Watson, stated that the crime was the most despicable that had come before the court in many years, that it was no credit to the citizens of Columbia (a small town outside of Lancaster) that they had allowed Watson to be in court, that south of the Mason and Dixon line no court would have to bother with his case and finally, that if the citizens had lynched him they would have been justified.

The story attracted the attention of daily newspaper correspondents because Watson turned out to be stone deaf and the correspondent of a Philadelphia daily sent in his story more as an amusing item than as anything else. The idea of a judge delivering a long harangue to a person who could not hear had amused the reporter.

When the text of Judge Atlee's remarks was published, however, it raised a storm throughout the state. The Philadelphia *Record* editorially called for his impeachment. Telegrams and messages from N.A.A.C.P. branches, lodges, churches, civic leaders and others throughout the state began pouring in to the state legislature which alone can bring impeachment proceedings. Representative Homer S. Brown of Pittsburgh, for many years president of the Pittsburgh branch of the N.A.A.C.P., and Representative Marshall L. Shepard of Philadelphia, both colored Democratic members of the legislature, filed a petition asking for the impeachment of Judge Atlee.

On July 21 a sub-committee of the judiciary general committee heard testimony of witnesses who were present in the court room when Judge Atlee delivered his lecture. Appearing for the N.A.A.C.P. was Herbert E. Millen, Philadelphia attorney and president for many years of the Philadelphia branch of the N.A.A.C.P. The hearing established conclusively that Judge Atlee had made the remarks attributed to him in the newspapers. At first the two attorneys he sent down to represent him before the committee were inclined to try to prove that the newspaper account was inaccurate and exaggerated, but as witness after witness corroborated the account they gave up that plan of defense and adopted the one which eventually proved successful. It was that Judge Atlee was a lover of law and order, hated lynching, would be the first to denounce lynching, but that he was so emotionally outraged by this crime that he forgot himself for a moment.

HOMER S. BROWN
Sought impeachment of judge

It was this defense, coupled with last minute party politics which made the issue too hot for either state Republicans or state Democrats, that induced the legislature to disregard the close vote of the committee for impeachment and permit Judge Atlee to make a public apology and submit to a censure.

Judge Atlee delivered in person to the committee his apology, reading it aloud and then signing it in the presence of the committee. In it he said he deplored lynching and would do nothing to encourage it and that under the stress of the moment he had made an indiscreet remark; and that he wished to apologize to the committee and to the people of Pennsylvania.

According to available records this is the first time a judge has been cited for remarks on lynching from the bench. Colored Pennsylvanians, although not completely satisfied, believe they have notified all elected officials of the state in an unmistakable manner that they will tolerate no condoning of lynching by Pennsylvania officials. Although the impeachment proceedings are generally considered to have fizzled out on account of bickering between the two political parties, both anxious for the Negro vote in November, the whole proceedings are regarded as invaluable in demonstrating the power and the temper of the state's Negro citizens.

Wins Texas Trip

Mrs. M. J. Stubblefield, who was sponsored by the North Oakland Baptist church of which the Rev. C. C. Coleman is pastor, won the first prize of a round trip to the Texas Centennial Exposition for her work in bringing in $336 in the Alameda county, Calif., branch campaign which ended July 27. The total amount secured in the drive was $646.50. Second place went to M. J. Mayfield, a university of California student, who reported $171; third place was won by Mrs. Nettie Phillips, sponsored by the Beth Eden Baptist church of which the Rev. J. P. Hubbard is pastor. She reported $139.50.

The drive was led by George Johnson and was launched by Dean William Pickens at a meeting held June 24. The Rev. Mr. Coleman pastor of the North Oakland Baptist church, has been a member of the executive committee of the Alameda county branch for many years.

The Rev. D. R. Wallace, rector of St. Augustine's Episcopal church, was the principal speaker at the victory meeting. He was a delegate to the recent state N.A.A.C.P. convention at Los Angeles and reported the proceedings. He also gave a survey of the work done by the branch for the last 26 years.

The Rev. Daniel G. Hill, Jr., pastor of First A.M.E. church, told about his recent eastern trip. He covered 7,000 miles going through much of the drought area. In contrasting these conditions with the Bay area, the speaker admonished the Negro to take advantage of such opportunities as California offered, fiting himself to be of service to his less fortunate brothers.

An appeal for loyalty among members of the N.A.A.C.P. stressing the necessity of this important body, came from the president, Walter H. Gordon, who said: "We are not enjoying the full rights of our freedom until every black man enjoys his freedom in the South."

First Round Lost in U. of Missouri Case

Late in July Judge Dinwiddie, sitting in Columbia, Mo., ruled in favor of the University of Missouri in the suit brought by Lloyd Gaines of St. Louis to secure admission to the school of law of the university. The judge ruled that the university, under the Missouri constitution, had the right to exclude Negro students from the state university. He ruled also that if Negro citizens wish to study law, they should petition to have a law school established at Lincoln university, the state Negro college at Jefferson City, Mo. Sidney R. Redmond, St. Louis attorney and chairman of the executive committee of the St. Louis N.A.A.C.P. branch, and Charles H. Houston of New York, counsel for Redmond, have filed notice of appeal to the state supreme court. Attorneys on both sides have petitioned the court to advance the case on the calendar so that it will not be subject to the usual two-year delay, but will be heard perhaps in November. Both sides have stated they will carry the case to the U. S. supreme court.

U. of Tennessee Case Up in November

Attorneys are still engaged in preliminary skirmishes in the University of Tennessee case where William Redmond of Nashville is suing to be accepted in the school of pharmacy of the University of Tennessee. Redmond's attorneys, C. A. Cowan, Z. Alexander Looby and Charles H. Houston, finally won the right early in August to inspect the minutes of the board of trustees of the University of Tennessee since 1869 in order to obtain information useful to their client. The case is expected to be argued in November.

Both the University of Missouri and the University of Tennessee cases are based upon the contention of the N.A.A.C.P. that the federal Constitution is being violated by the states when they furnish graduate and professional training in tax-supported institutions to white students, but provide no such training for Negro students.

Branch News

PROTESTS

Protection for bathers. Cleveland, Ohio, members protested the lack of protection for colored bathers at the Woodland Hills swimming pool at a meeting of the local branch held at the Antioch Baptist church, July 9. Means of aiding colored people in financing its purchase of homes were also discussed.

Desecration. On June 25 a committee of the **Boston, Mass.,** branch headed by the president, Irving T. Dorch, made a complaint to the Boston Licensing Board that the memory of Frederick Douglass, a great abolitionist, was desecrated by the liquor license granted to the Frederick Douglass Social and Literary Club.

The group alleged that they represented the original members of the club named after the ex-slave and said its charter had been secured by newer members. Douglass would not have wanted liquor sold in a club named after him, was their belief and they urged that the license be revoked.

LYNCHING

Impeachment demanded. The legal redress Committee of the **Chester, Pa.,** branch called a special session July 17 to draft a resolution and telegram to the sub-committee of the judiciary of the state legislature urging ouster proceedings on Judge B. C. Atlee of Lancaster county for statements made during a recent trial at Columbia which are "unfit" coming from a member of the bench.

The resolution and telegram, among thousands coming from N.A.A.C.P. branches all over the country, were drafted by a committee of which the Rev. J. Pius Barbour was chairman, and presented to Caspar H. Green who sent it to Harrisburg.

EDUCATION

Letter of appreciation. James B. La Fourche, secretary of the **New Orleans, La.,** branch announced recently that a letter was sent to the Governor of Louisiana by the New Orleans branch, thanking him for vetoing a bill designed to prevent conversion of schools or colleges for white students into similar institutions for Negroes.

CAMPAIGNS

The Tacoma, Wash., unit of the N.A.A.C.P. is having a membership campaign.

Pacific Coast drive. The **Alameda county** branch heard Dean William Pickens on Sunday, June 21, at the North Oakland Baptist church. The speaker's presence lent impetus to the association in its drive for new members.

Reorganized. After a lull of a few years the **Danville, Ill.,** branch plans to reorganize its work. The opening meeting of the campaign was held the evening of July 10 at the A. H. Brown Funeral Home. The annual conference was reported by Attorney Nelson M. Willis, with the Rev. Tobias Hutchison, president, presiding. Robert Norwood is secretary.

This branch was started in 1924 and was very active for about ten years. The campaign to revive its activities will soon be in full swing, the president predicted.

Faithful workers. Mrs. Edward Ellsworth of the **Rochester, N. Y.,** branch expects to bring in ten new members this year as she has done for so many years past. She has aided the association in many other ways as well. Another worker is Mrs. Mary T. L. Gannett. The Rev. David Rhys Williams of the Unitarian church has volunteered to manage a membership campaign in the fall with a thousand members as his goal.

SPORTS

Newspaper praised. On July 2, the executive board of the **Scranton, Pa.,** branch sent a letter of commendation and thanks to the Scranton *Times* for its courage and sportsmanship in opposing race prejudice at the national marble tournament. The *Times* withdrew its contestants from the finals when it became apparent that racial prejudice was being injected because one of the finalists was Leonard Tynes of Chicago, a colored boy.

POLITICS

White primary. The **Waco, Texas,** branch of the association has released the text of a letter to national chairman James A. Farley of the Democratic National Committee, urging him to take "under immediate consideration" the contradictions between the National Democratic platform and the action of the Texas state Democratic convention barring Negroes from the party's primary elections.

The letter, signed by R. D. Evans, president of the branch, and James H. Giron, its secretary, warns that "if the state Democratic convention can by resolution legally bar citizens from voting in the primary election because of color or race alone, it can go further and bar them from voting for Democratic nominees in the general election, both being legal elections."

Summarizing the legal history of the white primary fight in Texas, the letter points to the support given the National Democratic ticket in 1932 and 1934 by Negroes and warns that the continuance of discriminations against the Negro by southern Democratic organizations will "wield great influence in the Negro vote in the November elections."

MEETINGS

Banquet for graduates. The **Media, Pa.,** branch gave a banquet and reception, July 7, for high school and college graduates of Media and vicinity. An out-of-town guest was E. Carter Grasty, president of the **Chester** N.A.A.C.P. branch, selected to represent Chester members at the Media branch affair.

Forum draws crowd. The **Newton, Kans.,** forum held at the C.M.E. church in July was attended by a large number of people. Talks were given by the Rev. S. J. Strong and the Rev. William Cole. Fine reports were heard from those who attended the annual conference recently held at Baltimore. Sam Ridley was a delegate from the local branch and others who were there were Mrs. Ridley and Mr. and Mrs. S. A. Mannon.

Government resort. The **Nashville, Tenn.,** branch conducted a mass meeting July 12 at the Y.M.C.A. to hear R. E. Clay of A. and I. State college elaborate on the government plans for a Negro resort. The investigating committee made reports. The presiding officer was E. T. Brown, chairman of the executive committee.

The **Roanoke, Va.,** branch held a meeting June 25.

The monthly forum of the **Davenport, Ia.,** branch was held the afternoon of July 12 at the Third Baptist church.

Reports. Miss Grace Rossin, delegate to the annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P., gave a report to the **Licking County, O.,** branch at its meeting July 16 at the Shilo Baptist church, Newark.

Study your community. James E. Allen, president of the **N. Y.** branch was guest speaker at the meeting of the **Stamford, Conn.,** branch July 17 at Elk's Hall. His subject was "Am I my brother's keeper?" He described conditions in various sections of the country and pointed out that each community has its peculiar problems. He urged local members to study their communities and become interested in their problems.

Dr. A. U. Grant responded on behalf of the organization. Miss Lelia Cromartie delivered her prize winning oration, "The Negro and the Constitution," and Mrs. Amelia Hoyt recited the poem "Education." Other comments were made by Randolph Maize and Dr. Haskins, wife of the principal speaker; Larkin Bell, William Brown, Mrs. Daisy Pelman and Mrs. Rhoda Page.

The report of the special committee for the financial drive, of which Mrs. Pelman is

chairman, was encouraging. Rev. D. D. Davis, president, presided at the meeting. Mrs. Lucy Johnson is financial secretary and Mrs. Ruth Nicholson corresponding secretary of the **Stamford** branch.

Emancipation Day. The **Springfield, Ill.,** branch met July 10 at the Illinois *Conservator* office to discuss plans for the celebration of Emancipation Day, September 22. The general chairman is E. L. Rogers, with the following committee chairmen: Outdoor and recreation, J. H. Wilson; concession and finance, Dr. D. E. Webster; chorus and floral arrangements, R. P. Taylor; instrumental music, the Rev. D. E. Johnson; and W. M. Ashby as marshal of the day and in charge of the Lincoln tomb memorial services.

Public invited. William Pickens, director of branches of the association, spoke at a reorganization meeting of the **Santa Barbara** branch Sunday, July 12 at the Second Baptist church. During the previous week Mr. Pickens conferred with residents on plans for reorganizing the local unit which was founded 27 years ago.

The **Marion county, W. Va.,** branch sent George W. Crocket, Jr., president, and J. G. Lampkin, as delegates to the annual conference at Baltimore.

Tour ends. Dr. G. T. Gray, L. O. Cochran, and Rev. T. N. Neal, who attended the annual conference, have returned to **McAlester, Okla.,** after a long motor tour covering northern and southern states.

School meeting. . The **Rockford, Ill.,** branch of the N.A.A.C.P. met July 19 at the Kent school. The president, Dr. Richard S. Grant, presided.

Appreciation. The **Stockton, Calif.,** branch recently addressed a letter to the editor of the **Record** to thank him and his staff for their successful advertising of the visit, June 5, of William Pickens, director of branches of the N.A.A.C.P.

Politicians speak. A mass meeting of the **Monterey Peninsula, Calif.,** branch of the N.A.A.C.P. was held July 21 at Assembly Hall. The speakers were S. F. B. Morse, chairman of the Monterey county Republican central committee; E. H. Tickle, candidate for re-election to the state senate; and Ellis E. Patterson, candidate for re-election to the state assembly. The chairman of the meeting was William Smith, president of the branch.

Public invited. Dean William Pickens addressed the **Vallejo, Calif.,** branch at a meeting June 27 at the Second Baptist church. The public was invited to attend.

Report. The **Duluth, Minn.,** branch heard reports of the annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. at the monthly meeting of the branch held at St. Mark's A.M.E. church July 19. The delegates, R. J. Simmons and Joseph Albright who had recently returned from Baltimore, reported the conference.

The July meeting of the **St. Louis, Mo.,** branch was a "pep" meeting sponsored by its secretary, Miss Loretta Owens. Tables were spread for the thirty members and guests who were served ice cream, cake and mints while "Echoes From the Conferences" were given by Charles Robinson and Loretta Owens, delegates to the annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. and Henry Von Avery who attended the National Youth Congress in Cleveland, Ohio. The "Challenge Song" of the National Youth Division was sung several times, after which remarks were made by J. E. Mitchell and Robert L. Witherspoon, member of the executive committee and secretary, respectively, of the branch. The youth group is now planning its talking picture entertainment to be given by the Ebony Dots, nationally known radio artists.

California State Conference. The first state conference of California branches was held July 9–11 at the Independent Church of Christ in Los Angeles. Mayor Frank L. Shaw extended greetings for the city. Among the speakers at the evening sessions were George A. Beavers, who spoke on segregation in the school system; and Dr. Edward Hauck of the school board, who spoke on what the school board could do to eliminate discrimination in the system. At the closing evening session the speakers were Dean Pickens who spoke on "Lynching and Crime Prevention" and District Attorney Buron Fitts who outlined the duties of law-enforcement agencies. Other speakers at the day sessions were William Robinson, Monrovia; Thomas L. Griffiths, Los Angeles; Judge Walter S. Gates; Baxter S. Scruggs; Carl J. Johnson; and Edwin Jefferson. Mrs. Elizabeth St. Charles Edwards was general chairman of the committee which arranged for the state conference.

Springfield, O., Elections. At a meeting August 4, Martin L. Nared was elected president of the newly reorganized Springfield, Ohio, branch. Other officers and members of the Executive Committee: Louis Hall, Vice President; Miss Mildred White, Secretary; Miss Naomi Taylor, Assistant Secretary; John Corley, Treasurer; Lansing Moore, Parlimentarian; Miss Ella Harris, Mrs. Taylor, Rev. Greene, Mrs. Moseley, Riley Jackson, Miss Belva Ball, William Bradford, Mr. Morgan, Executive Committee; William McClain, Publicity Agent.

Faithful Workers. Mrs. Edward Ellsworth, Mrs. T. L. Gannett, and the Reverend David Rhys Williams are three of the members and workers cited by John S. Brown, secretary of the Rochester, New York, branch as among the most faithful supporters of the N.A.A.C.P. in his city. Mrs. Ellsworth has brought in at least ten members a year for many years. Mrs. Gannett not only has been an active member of the Rochester branch but has responded to many special appeals from the national office. The Reverend Mr. Williams, minister of the Unitarian church has volunteered to manage a membership campaign this fall with a thousand members as a goal. The Rochester branch of the association is one of the truly interracial branches in the whole country, having not only honorary white members, but active white members and officers and members of the executive committee.

Radio Broadcast. R. J. Simmons, president of the Duluth, Minn., branch spoke over station W.E.B.C. during August. His subject was, "The N.A.A.C.P. Conference as I Saw It."

Transferred. The Rev. Homer J. Armstrong, until recently the pastor of the United Baptist Christian church in Duluth, Minn., has been called to a large church in New York City. He was a valued member of the Duluth branch of the N.A.A.C.P. and they regret his departure.

YOUTH COUNCIL NEWS

The Bailey Forum, the Youth Council, Logansport, Ind., branch of the N.A.A.C.P., sponsored a popularity contest in July. Arletia Moore was voted the most popular girl in the city. The election was the climax of a dance held July 13 at Spencer park. Edith Maline won second place. Mrs. James Roberts is the adviser of this youth branch.

The Junior Division of the Duluth, Minn., branch will begin its seasons' study activities in September.

BIDS FOR VOTERS

The October issue of THE CRISIS, out September 26, will contain statements from all the political parties on their attitude toward Negro Americans.

Jed

(*Continued from page 266*)

He had just come from another convention, a youth conference, at Memphis.

"I wouldn't be here," he said, as he held a lighted match to my cigarette for me, "if it weren't for a fellow I met at the convention at Memphis."

I asked him why.

"He was a Negro lad from the North, a swell guy," he continued. His friendly face broke into a smile of enthusiasm for an unusual person. "He steered us on the right track and prevented us from wasting our time discussing the salvation of souls. Well, he pointed out things that made me feel that it was my duty to attend this convention of share-croppers, even if I am a southerner and never had a decent word to say about a Negro before in my life."

The cigarette which I was nervously turning between my fingers slipped to the floor. As I bent over to pick it up, I recalled that lonely night when a Negro lad had unburdened his heart.

"Where did you say this fellow was from?" I asked excitedly.

"Boston," he answered. "Do you live near Boston? If you do you ought to look him up some time. Wonderful personality. He simply walked away with the convention and us, too."

"But what is the fellow's name?" I questioned impatiently. But before he could answer, I added quickly, "It wasn't Jed Cross, was it?"

He looked at me, pleased and puzzled. "Yeah. Do you know him?"

Jed in Little Rock, Memphis, Boston. Jed in the North and Jed in the South. "Do I know him?" I spoke absently, my mind far away.

Then laughing proudly, wanting to shout, I said, "He's an old friend of mine. Sure, I know Jed Cross!"

SAVE MONEY Let us send you sufficient

CLEANS ALL CRYSTALS

to make one **Gallon of Excellent Cleaning Fluid.** Use in a similar manner as Naphtha. Odorless—non - inflammable — economical. Cleans your dresses, silks, rayons, clothing, felt hats, white shoes, gloves, necktles, upholstery, draperies, wood work, silverware, rugs, carpets, lamp shades, etc. Removes spots, stains, dirt, and grime like magic. Send only one dime and the names and addresses of three of your lady friends living outside of your city and receive this **Wonder Cleaner. Save Time, Labor and MONEY.** Keep your clothing looking like new. **Order Now.**

DEPENDABLE PRODUCTS COMPANY
68 East 57th Street, Dept. 8 Chicago, Ill.

Echoes From the Youth Conference

National Youth Program

By Edward A. Lawrence

THE 210 youth delegates who assembled in Baltimore during the week of June 29 to July 5, can look back with considerable pride on the amount of real work done at that meeting, the first in which we of the youth group played a distinctive role. Six days we worked in Baltimore. In six days we established a national program, set up the bases for a national organization, resolved specific issues, and decided upon methods and techniques. Ahead of us lies tremendous work still to be done if what we have planned is to be given meaning. Flesh and blood and the breath of life must be added to the skeleton we have constructed.

Our national program was drawn up under five heads. The first of these was lynching. We resolved to support the anti-lynching program of the N.A.A.C.P. In concrete terms this means that we shall aid the association, however we can, in its fight for the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill, and in its efforts to arouse public opinion against the brutal and immoral crime of lynching. We must raise funds for the national office; we must rally an audible public opinion to our support.

We further resolved that the Youth Councils lead the youth of the nation in a militant and dramatic demonstration against lynching during the ensuing year, such demonstration to become an annual affair. This calls for very careful planning. Such a demonstration can either be a huge success or a ludicrous failure; there can be no half-way point. To make it a success, we must have the support of the forward-thinking college and high school groups. The students of the nation must turn out *en masse* to demonstrate conclusively that we of the younger generation, of all races and creeds and political beliefs, are opposed to mob violence on any and every grounds. We must have the support of the young workers, organized and unorganized, to make it a mass and not a class demonstration. The individual Youth Councils should begin at once the exploratory and preliminary work necessary to put over this demonstration—perhaps the most important single item on our entire program.

Subordinate to this, but playing an important part in our fight against lynching, will be the wearing of black arm-

(*Continued on next page, Col.* 1)

Importance to N. A. A. C. P.

By L. Pearl Mitchell

IT happened to be my privilege to attend the youth sessions of the N.A.A.C.P. at the 27th annual conference, to meet at 9 a.m., an hour earlier than the seniors' sessions, to go through the morning watching the eager, serious faces, listening to the keen, alert young people as they studied, discussed and planned their organization and program.

Then again at 4:30 when the afternoon joint session was completed, to meet with selected youth delegates from their five discussion groups in what they termed their "steering committee." There they worked diligently, summarizing the day's findings of all groups, to be presented before the next morning's assembly, so that all might keep in touch with what each discussion group was thinking.

Would that more adults could have been present to have received inspiration, a renewed determination to go on, because one could not help but realize that the younger generation is actually joining us in this great fight for justice.

Yes, there were moments when the youth were bubbling over with enthusiasm; could see the world at their feet without a vision of the difficulties to be encountered; moments when oratory and academic prowess were displayed, rather than practical ideas; when they felt the older folk had done nothing, thus we must change the world over night and "build Rome in a day."

There were also moments between sessions when an adult must listen to a word from a few of her fellow workers whose reactions were set forth in the fear that "youth would not keep their feet on the ground, would not appreciate the senior point of view or accomplishments, would bring us into a hopeless state of chaos."

Out of this double lens, one who loves and believes in youth and who also understands the viewpoint of the adult, wishes to make these observations:

1. The reason we have in existence our National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with its 27 years of work and achievement, is because of the ideals, the sacrifices and

(*Continued on next page, Col.* 3)

Some Statistics

By J. Catherine Wyatt

"ALL roads lead to Rome," a saying, unchallenged years ago when that city was at its height, might well have been paraphrased and still unchallenged "All roads lead to Baltimore" for over 200 young people on June 29. For on that date, young people from all directions, interested in the economic, social and civic welfare of their race, knew no other road than that leading to Baltimore and the 27th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P.

Aside from the to-be-expected large turnout of Baltimore conferees—142 of the total registrants—roads leading to the city from the North brought 42 delegates when 17 reported from Pennsylvania; 13 from New Jersey, 9 from the state of New York, and 3 from Massachusetts.

The South tallied 11 representatives from localities other than Baltimore, listing 9 from Maryland and one each from Alabama and Georgia. Ten delegates came out of the West: 5 from Missouri, 4 from Ohio, and one from Illinois.

In all 205 youth delegates and 5 youth leaders came to the "Rome" of the 1936 N.A.A.C.P. convention from 31 cities and towns as distantly separated as Boston, Mass. and Mobile, Ala.; Princess Anne, Md. and St. Louis, Mo. In-between points included Cambridge and Springfield in Massachusetts; Albany, New York City, Brooklyn, New Rochelle, Staten Island in New York; Montclair, Newark and Morristown in New Jersey; Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Media, Swarthmore, Haverford, Uniontown, Berwyn, Malvern in Pennsylvania; and Atlanta, Ga. Westward from Princess Anne the roll-call brought responses of delegates from Baltimore, Annapolis and Havre de Grace in Maryland; Columbus, Cleveland and Newark in Ohio; Chicago, Illinois; and St. Louis and Kansas City in Missouri.

An interesting feature about the conference was its youthfulness. The ages of 114 persons, or 65 per cent, did not exceed 21 years; 63, or 36 per cent, between 15 and 18. One hundred thirty-seven of the delegates, 4 of every 5 revealing their ages, had not yet completed the first quarter century of their lives.

(*Continued on next page, Col.* 1)

Considering this general youthfulness, a favorable educational average had been attained, as shown by the record of individual schooling. Thirty-two, or 14 per cent were college graduates, while 38 or nearly one of every five were attending college or had completed junior college training. Twenty-one had been graduated from normal schools and twelve were yet in attendance. Twenty-six showed high school graduation, while 45 were high or junior high school students.

Of those who had completed their schooling, 29 or over half of the 59 engaged at various types of occupations, were teachers; 10 were clerical workers; one gave social work as her career and another was a librarian. Among others were a lawyer, a minister, a public accountant and a nurse. Among those still in training one-half are aspiring to become teachers; 10 social workers; and 40 hope to find employment at some 20 other varied occupations.

Religious affiliations included all denominations with Baptists predominating.

With over 200 eager, inspired young delegates travelling many roads home, in all directions, what possibilities there are to further the work of the N.A.A.C.P.!

The roads that lead from "Rome" and the 27th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P.—who knows how far they will extend?

National Youth Program

(*Continued from page* 281)

bands by members of the Youth Councils on the Sunday following a lynching. The armbands will be a mute symbol of mourning, protest, and solidarity. This practice may in time become a mighty silent weapon of propaganda, for the inevitable question will come—and its answer, the simple yet damning statement: "A man was lynched Tuesday."

In the field of civil liberties, we youth delegates resolved that the Youth Councils endeavor, through the press, pulpit and stage, by ballot, boycott, picketing, and litigation, to draw attention to, and correct, the violation of civil liberties. In terms of specific action this means that (1) the Youth Councils will support, as an organized group, civil rights bills in those areas where they are practicable, by means of the press, pulpit, and stage, mass meetings and parades; (2) that where civil rights bills have been enacted, the Youth Councils will draw attention to violations of such statutes through the same media, and also by means of boycotting and picketing, and by instituting civil actions in the courts. The legal staff of the Association has already been requested to prepare and publish for general distribution, a handbook giving the necessary steps through which an individual may initiate legal action in personal discrimination cases.

For Better Education

To further the fight for equality of educational opportunity, we have resolved to support the Houston six-point educational program, and to help raise funds necessary to successfully conclude all education cases filed by the Association. In support of the Houston six-point program, a nation-wide series of mass meetings is even now being planned, to take place on November 12 of this year. These mass meetings, sponsored by the 52 local Youth Councils with the support and cooperation of interested white and colored youth groups, will be our first move towards the establishment of permanent local committees to direct the battle for equality of opportunity within the several communities in conjunction with the nation-wide campaign of the N.A.A.C.P.

Work and relief came in for considerable attention at the conference. The last six years have awakened Negro youth to the need for organized action to combat prejudice and discrimination in this field. The Youth Councils of the N.A.A.C.P. have resolved to develop programs which will encourage workers of our race to join mixed unions whereever possible, and to promote the formation of new unions wherever Negro labor is unorganized in trades peculiarly open to the Negro and where inadequate or discriminatory conditions exist in already established unions. Here there is room for considerable activity with regard to laundry workers, hotel workers, domestic workers, and agricultural labor.

The Youth Councils will further fight for the elimination of discriminatory practices in the administration of relief. Close attention and investigation will be given to all complaints made by relief clients, and willful discriminations will be taken to the highest possible authority for adjustment.

The Youth Councils will support "Buy where you can work" campaigns by boycotting and picketing refractory businesses. We will cooperate with United Front groups and labor organizations in opposition to discriminatory labor unions, and in connection with other specific problems of work and relief.

We are opposed to war, and shall support the Emergency Peace Campaign.

Seek 100 New Councils

Finally, we have outlined an heroic campaign to increase by at least 100 the number of Youth Councils before the 1937 conference. We are carrying the fight to the campuses, north and south, in an effort to set up college chapters.

There, as briefly as possible, is an outline of what we did in Baltimore. Much more could be written before our program would be adequately reported, but we have Mr. Wilkin's promise that he will allot space in future issues of The Crisis for further reports and clarification. The November issue will be an All-Youth issue, and at that time the Youth Councils are really going to town. Meanwhile I have this to say to them:

You have heard the reports from your delegates to the conference, and you have read this report. You see and understand what we are aiming at—a militant youth organization as an integral part of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to combat the evils of discrimination and mob violence. That organization will be no stronger than its weakest link, specifically its weakest member Council. We ask you to set to work now to make your Youth Council equally as strong as every other. Mobilize your numbers and your talents that we may advance together.

Importance to N.A.A.C.P.

(*Continued from page* 281)

the devotion of the founders, the staff, the adults who have given their lives to make a road over which the younger and unborn generations may travel. Youth must recognize this in entering the work.

2. Every great movement must always have a certain amount of leaven which comes from hard years of experience that cannot be evaluated. Youth will want this counsel with adults, will be students as they prepare for leadership.

3. Looking through the lens from another angle, those of us who have tried to do executive work, have been appalled at the apathetic attitude of many adults. We have chafed at the lack of zeal, have felt bound and chained at times by the slowness of action. We want and we need the enthusiasm, the vigor, the fearlessness of our youth. We cannot win without the spirit of youth.

4. In this changing world with its constant threat of fascism, its battle for the survival of the powerful, the world must recognize the Negro youth. Just as Jesse Owens, Cornelius Johnson,

Dave Albritton, J. Woodruff and others are representing us in the Olympic world, making new records, new history, so will the youth make themselves felt in all fields, specifically in the work of the N.A.A.C.P. We, the adults, welcome you as a vital, permanent unit of our organization.

We need each other—not to dominate, not to criticize, but hand in hand to work, to adjust, to cooperate, to act. There is no greater or harder task than the one to which the N.A.A.C.P. has dedicated itself—fighting for the rights—the brotherhood of man, not as it has been practiced, but as it must be known in every section of our land and in the lands across the sea.

Finally, we know that youth has a real contribution to make and in the name of millions who suffer we welcome and challenge you. We ask that you march shoulder to shoulder with the senior groups everywhere, that together we wage a never ceasing fight to remove the shackles from every woman, man and child who still lives in slavery.

Resolutions

(*Continued from page 277*)

mental reorganization of the economy of the cotton-raising industry. We deplore the apathy and indifference of men in high places, including the Majority Leader of the Senate, who have remained mute at brutal outbreaks in the State of Arkansas. We urge upon Congress the passage of legislation which will directly benefit disinherited sharecroppers and provide for genuinely cooperative subsidies for their welfare instead of legislating for the benefit of landowners, banks and others who would profit from human misery.

Political Action

We serve notice upon the political parties that we are fully aware of their shortcomings, both so far as platform pledges are concerned and fulfillment of those pledges. We serve notice that the Negro voter is becoming increasingly intelligent and independent and refuses any longer to be fooled by empty phrases and that we will not forget broken promises.

We reaffirm our determination to ignore empty party labels and to vote for men and measures which mean most to the greatest number. We repudiate politicians of all races who seek to advance their personal fortunes at the expense of the Negro voter. We pledge ourselves to utilize this power wisely, effectively and unselfishly in those states where the Negro vote holds the potential balance of power.

Relief

We condemn the general discrimination based on race and color in work and relief. We urge officials both national and local to work more vigorously toward a fair dispensation of relief funds and work among Negroes. We have learned from bitter experience over a period of many years that certain states cannot be trusted to distribute moneys for relief and other public purposes without discrimination against Negro Americans. We therefore view with disfavor proposals to return relief to the states.

Social Security

We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly and vigorously for passage of more adequate social security legislation which will include farmers, domestics, casual labor and other large groups of workers who in many instances are kept in such groups by discrimination by certain types of employers and labor unions.

Labor Unions

We urge support and active participation in the effort for organization of industrial unions in the American labor movement without regard to race or color.

Federal Employment and Civil and Military Service

We vigorously condemn the policy of systematic discrimination in employment because of race or color by the various federal and state governmental departments, including the army and navy and the National Guard. We urge the President of the United States to use his influence and power to eliminate the evil practices which violate the fundamental citizenship rights of Negro citizens.

We unstintingly condemn the present policy of discrimination in the administration of civil service. We therefore urge impartial enforcement of all civil service laws and regulations, the use of fingerprints instead of photographs for identification purposes, and that appointments be made in the order of priority.

Ethiopia

We vigorously urge that the United States refuse to recognize the sovereignty of Italy in Ethiopia. To do so would be to put the stamp of approval upon the most shameless act of wholesale murder and robbery of modern times.

The Press

We commend the daily and weekly press for publishing and making known to the people of the country the record of Negro achievement, particularly in regard to the program of the N.A.A.C.P. for equal educational opportunities and against lynching. We hope a greater number of daily papers will give more notice to Negro progress and successes as building a better understanding and a better America for all people.

Negro Business

We urge the race and all people to give generous support to the development and strengthening of Negro business, but we insist that Negro business maintain the same high level of economy and service as any other business in the same field, and we insist that Negro business give its employees the same protection and security for employment and a decent living wage as any other business.

Justice in the Courts

We demand the abolition of discrimination against Negroes in jury service in the courts and the full right to participate in the administration of justice. We remind the American people that the real test of the administration of justice is the ability of public officials to do their duty impartially and courageously in the face of prejudice and passion.

The Vote

We insist upon the right to vote and denounce the methods used in some states to deprive Negro citizens of their suffrage. We remind Negroes that part of their present disfranchisement is due to their own indifference and neglect to register and vote; and we insist that all citizens shall regard the ballot as a priceless heritage of citizenship and that they exercise it always for purposes of better government.

We extend our heartfelt thanks to the Baltimore Branch, to the citizens of Maryland, to the newspapers and to the officials of the state of Maryland and Baltimore who have joined in making the arrangements for our Twenty-seventh Annual Conference. We voice our thanks to all, individually and collectively, who have so generously helped to make this Conference a success.

Negro Art Photo Calendars

FANS — BLOTTERS — THERMOMETERS
$47.00 per 1000. Be up to date; advertise your business in the modern way. Send 60 cents for samples. Agents wanted, 20% and up commission. When writing send self addressed envelope.

Send 35 cents in stamps for beautiful 1936 Negro Art Calendar.

NEGRO ART ADVERTISING COMPANY
CAthedral 8-4070 2077—7th Ave., New York City

Slave Struggles

(*Continued from page* 274)

In some few they were among the leaders; but in the greater number Negroes organized and carried out the insurrection while the whites, if they were concerned at all, acted as sympathizers or abettors.

Prosser's Insurrection

The many insurrections which were planned and attempted in the United States were almost all formidable enough to send shivers to the hearts of those on the wrong side of the fence, but in the first third of the 19th century came three peace-shattering revolts which left the South weak and gasping for breath. In 1800 occurred the first of these great revolts under the leadership of Gabriel Prosser for whom the insurrection has come to be named. Slaves throughout Virginia were involved. They planned to march on Richmond with three columns. One was to take over the city, the second was to seize the powder house and the third was to occupy the penitentiary where arms were stored. The details were all worked out very carefully.

The slaves began to gather with scythes converted into cutlasses and with a few muskets when a deluge of rain fell; bridges were swept away and roads washed out. There was nothing to do but postpone the insurrection and send home those who had already arrived. This was done but before any further plans could be made the whole affair was given away by slaves who turned traitors. So many Negroes were involved that when the plan was discovered federal troops were immediately brought to Richmond. Various leaders were arrested and condemned. Ten or fifteen Negroes were executed daily for a short time. Gabriel, caught aboard a boat at Norfolk, was also tried and executed, carrying himself bravely throughout. He was young, about 25 years old, very intelligent but illiterate. One of his chief propaganda weapons was the Bible from which he culled anything which justified the struggle for freedom and condemned tyranny or slavery.

The state, and especially Richmond, was thrown into a furore. It was afterwards widely claimed that but for the rain Richmond might very well have been captured by the slaves. It was the intention of the slaves, if they were unable to hold the town, to retreat to the mountains from which the whites would have had a very difficult time dislodging them. The Virginia legislature met in secret session to decide what could be done to prevent a similar occurrence in the future. The direction which their thought took is indicated by the passage of a resolution requesting the governor to correspond with the President of the United States "on the subject of purchasing land without the limits of the State, whither persons obnoxious to the laws; or dangerous to the peace of society, may be removed." Failing to find such a place of exile the legislature, in 1805, passed a law prohibiting emancipation except on the condition that the emancipated Negro leave the state within twelve months or suffer being sold into slavery again. This aversion to having free Negroes about probably arose from the fact that slaves seeing former associates living the life of normal individuals and enjoying the liberties of free men were made restive. Very few free Negroes took a prominent part in slave insurrections.

Denmark Vesey

The first case of a free Negro acting as the leader of a revolt occurred in 1822 in South Carolina when Denmark Vesey formed what was undoubtedly the best organized, most ingenious of any of the insurrections in this country. As a young slave Denmark showed such intelligence and good nature that a Captain Vesey was attracted to the youngster and took him along on his travels. Denmark traveled with Captain Vesey for twenty years going all over the world, learning foreign languages, picking up many ideas with which slaves rarely came into contact. Chancing to purchase a ticket in a lottery he won $1500. For $600 he bought his freedom and came to Charleston to live and work as a carpenter. For years he cautiously, gradually built up in the minds of the Negroes of Charleston a burning desire for freedom, a revolutionary yearning to break the chains that bound them, chains which to some extent bound Vesey, a free member of an enslaved race.

Vesey acquired great prestige among the slaves about Charleston. For his lieutenants in the enterprise which he was planning he chose highly intelligent and influential slaves. They enrolled others until finally the organization reached great numbers in the city and on the plantations. The leaders set certain regulations for recruiting new members. Household or confidential slaves were to be interviewed only by Peter Poyas, Vesey's assistant. The names of all prospects were submitted to Poyas for approval before they were invited to join the organization. Poyas was also the military leader and drew up excellent tactical plans for the revolt. These plans were built around the fact that on Sundays hundreds of country Negroes were accustomed to come to Charleston to attend prayer meetings. Vesey and Poyas decided that many more could enter Charleston on a Sunday without attracting undue attention. In addition many slaves could come to the slave quarters of brother conspirators on the outskirts of Charleston where they could remain hidden until the proper time. At the hour decided upon different groups would seize munitions shops, the arsenals, and other places where arms were stored. They would then occupy strategic locations and take over the town.

Betrayed by Servant

The plot was discovered because one slave did not follow instructions and on May 25th approached a household servant on the subject of joining the in-

WILD ROSE

HAIR GROWER

(Formerly East India, now Wild Rose)

IF USED REGULARLY

Will Promote a Full Growth of Hair —Will Also Restore the Strength, Vitality and Beauty of the Hair. If Your Hair Is Dry and Wiry Try

WILD ROSE HAIR GROWER

If you are bothered with Falling Hair, Dandruff, Itching Scalp, or any Hair Trouble, we want you to try a jar of Wild Rose Hair Grower. The remedy contains medical properties that go to the roots of the hair, stimulates the skin, helping nature to do its work. Leaves the hair soft and silky. Highly perfumed. A good remedy for Heavy and Beautiful Black Eyebrows. Can be used with Hot Iron for straightening.

Price Sent by Mail 50c — Postage 10c

TEMPLE OIL for DARKENING THE HAIR

AGENT'S OUTFIT: 1 Hair Grower, 1 Temple Oil, 1 Shampoo, 1 Pressing Oil, 1 Face Cream and Directions for Selling, **$2.00. 25c Extra for Postage.**

E. B. LYONS

418 North Central, Oklahoma City, Okla.

surrection. This servant became frightened and informed his master who carried the information to the intendent (mayor). Under examination the slave who had done the recruiting gave information inculpating two leaders, Peter Poyas and Mingo Harth. They were summoned but treated the charges with amusement, and, since there was no evidence, they were released. Others who were under suspicion appeared voluntarily and protested indignantly. The officials were puzzled and withheld the affair from the community. On Friday, June 14th a Negro Sunday School teacher, bribed or persuaded by his master, told of having heard that the date for the insurrection was the following Sunday. The danger was still kept from the public but careful preparations were made for defense.

Meanwhile Vesey and his aides met for a final conference. From the careful and extensive preparations which had been made for defending the town they decided that it would be foolhardy to attempt the revolt that Sunday. But too many leaks had developed and on Tuesday most of the leaders were arrested. During the week others were seized. Of the conspirators thirty-five were executed, thirty-seven were banished and 131 were committed to prison. So ended the "most elaborate insurrectionary project ever formed by American slaves and nearest to success. In boldness of conception and thoroughness of organization there has been nothing to compare with it."

Many whites found it difficult to understand why Denmark Vesey, a free man, comparatively well off, should have thrust his head into a noose. Although he was free, Vesey, like Moses, clenched his fist and said, "Let my people go." Of all the leaders of slave insurrections about whom we have information Denmark Vesey is the most intelligent and inspiring figure.

The revolt which, more than all others, stirred up the South was the well known Southampton Insurrection under the leadership of Nat Turner in 1831. Turner, a mystic, who felt that God was his inspiration, organized the Negroes in Southampton County, Virginia. This revolt resulted in the killing of about sixty whites. Twenty Negroes were executed and a great number killed without trial. The whole country was shaken and the institution of slavery received a blow from which it never fully recovered. For its results, if not for its genius, extent, or organization, this desperate effort by the enslaved Negroes of Southampton, Virginia, must

Plenty on the Ball!

In smooth, effortless performance, coupled with economy of operation, Essolene leads the league. This regular priced gasoline gives you better mileage than even most *premium* priced gasolines, and *no* gasoline at *any* price will give you more under hard summer driving conditions. Made by the world's leading oil organization, Esso Marketers.

COLONIAL BEACON OIL COMPANY, INC.

Essolene MOTOR FUEL

BUY AT THE ESSO SIGN

for Happy Motoring

BIG PRIZE CONTEST
GET DETAILS FROM
YOUR ESSO DEALER

Copr. 1936, Esso, Inc.

be ranked as the culmination of the long series of conspiracies and insurrections through which a shackled people attemped to break their bonds.

Morehouse Ministers' Institute

The fourth annual interdenominational ministers institute, which has been held at Morehouse college as a part of the Atlanta university summer school, concluded its four weeks work Friday, July 10. Thirty-seven men and women, representing four denominations, attended the institute. They were registered from five states, Georgia, Florida, Texas, Tennessee, and Ohio. Seven towns and cities in Georgia were represented.

Courses in Social Work

An important forward step was taken by the board of trustees of Howard university when courses in social work were authorized for the year 1935–36. During the year just closed this work was carried forward under the direction of Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, head of the department of sociology. Miss Ruth M. Jackson, master of arts in social work from the University of Chicago, was appointed as full-time instructor in this field. Twenty-four students enrolled for courses in social work during the year.

Man in His Grave

By Elinor Lennen

Once, fervent fingers knew rapport with life,
And swift blood ran to do the spirit's will,
Before his tides ebbed, never to return,
Before the throbbing mind and heart stopped still.

One time, these arms reached eagerly for love,
Were warm and supple, never stiffly cold;
Now, through forgetful seasons' busy round,
Earth is the only lover they can hold.

Howard Graduate School

The second year of the graduate school of Howard university as an independent school ended with the commencement of June 5. At that time the master's degree was conferred upon 43 candidates; 30 received the degree, master of arts; and 13 the degree, master of science. Eighteen of those receiving the master's degree were men and 25 were women.

SERVICE

. . . Something New and Different in Reading Material

A national journal, professional in outlook, absorbing in interest, which combines the qualities of being timely, resourceful and educational. An absolutely new creation to give status to service occupations.

Single copy 15c
Annual subscription $1.50

Address: SERVICE
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

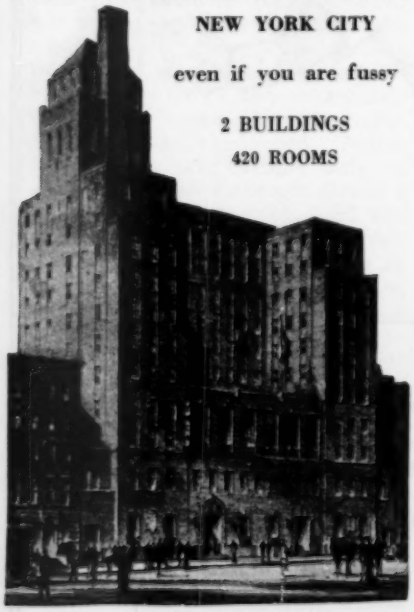
Harlem Advertisers

When you are away from home you will appreciate the Accommodations at the

HARLEM BRANCH Y. M. C. A.
NEW YORK CITY

even if you are fussy

2 BUILDINGS
420 ROOMS



Spiritual Warmth — Comfort — Hospitality, 24 Hours Each Day

Y. M. C. A. 180 West 135th Street New York City

Phone Edgecombe 9048 Beautiful Chapel Free
RODNEY DADE & BROS.
Efficient and Reliable Service
2244 Seventh Avenue New York City
(Corner of 132nd St.)
Prices to suit all
Our references—anyone of the many we have served

HOTEL GRAMPION
The Finest Hotel in Harlem
Every Room With Private Bath and Telephone
Tel. UNiversity 6900 4-6901 6902
182 St. Nicholas Avenue

WAINWRIGHT & SON FUNERAL HOME, INC.
162 West 136th St., New York City
COMPLETE FUNERALS $150
Phone: Edg-4-1086

BELSTRAT LAUNDRY CO., INC.
Largest Negro-owned Industry in Harlem
Wet and finished work
51 West 140th St. BRadhurst 2-4282

"100 Amazing Facts About the Negro"
In All Ages and All Lands—Gathered by Actual Travel on Five Continents by J. A. Rogers, Author, Journalist and Lecturer. 100 Surprises! 100 Thrills!
Did you know that Negroes once owned white people as slaves in the United States? That there are lands where Negroes still hold them as slaves?
15 cents. With "The Key" giving full proof and sources: 39 cents.
Write J. A. ROGERS PUBLICATIONS
2293—7th Avenue New York City

H. ADOLPH HOWELL FUNERAL CHURCH, INC.
The only dedicated Funeral Church in Harlem
Automobiles for hire for all occasions
2332 Seventh Avenue
AUdubon 3-3193
George E. West, Pres.
Harold H. Hedgeman, Licensed, Mgr.

TURNER
Undertaking & Embalming Co.
Incorporated under the Laws of State of New York
OPEN ALL HOURS
Main Office: 107 West 136th Street, Phone AUdubon 3-4304
Branch: 5 West 116th Street, Phone UNiversity 4-1431
Established 1904—NOTARY PUBLIC
"Every Requisite for the Burial of the Dead"
EXPERIENCE IS THE BEST TEACHER

Mention THE CRISIS to Our Advertisers